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25 YEARS OF UNCONTROL



By The

REV. EDGAR SCHMEIDLER, O.S.B., F.R.S.

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BY

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INTRODUCTION

One of the weirdest stories that will go down in the history of the United States is the story of her so-called birth control movement. Indeed, when one considers the individuals who promoted the movement, the methods they used, the arguments that they had recourse to, the dreadful fruits that were produced, one concludes that even the word "weird" is not expressive enough in referring to it. Even as this is being written, individuals interested in birth control are distributing fliers in the very capital of the nation, advertising in open defiance of the law of the District of Columbia a local birth control clinic.

It would take large volumes to write this story in full detail. In this book we attempt to give only a sketchy overall picture of the movement and its results, for the most part limiting ourselves to the first quarter century of the organized efforts of the birth controllers. But even this will more than likely startle many who have never given the movement special attention.

There is some question who invented the term "birth control." Margaret Sanger, who has triumphantly stated that the term has gone round the world, seems eager to claim the credit, such as it is, for having coined it. In her book *My Fight for Birth Control* she writes of an occasion on which several of her friends and supporters were discussing with her the question of a suitable term. A number of names were suggested, but all "were cast aside as not meeting the demands." But, "finally," she says, "it came to me out of the blue—'Birth Control'. We all knew at once we had found the perfect name for the cause."

But apparently it did not come to her "out of the blue" but rather from somebody's lips. At any rate, she tells the following story of a different kind later in her *Autobiography*:

As a few companions were sitting with me one evening we debated in turn voluntary parenthood, voluntary motherhood, the new motherhood, constructive generation, and new generation. . . . We tried population control, race control, and birth rate control. Then someone suggested, "Drop the rate." Birth control was the answer; we knew we had it—the baby was named.

What they really dropped was the idea of control. For what their movement actually stands for is "uncontrol." We prefer this name, as the title of this book indicates.

A number have pointed out that the term "birth control" is inaccurate, and does not really express what the term means in common parlance. Perhaps no one has done this more trenchantly than Chesterton. He writes: ¹

The very name of "birth control" is a piece of pure humbug. It is one of those blantant euphemisms used in the headlines of the Trust Press. It is like "Tariff Reform." It is like "Free Labour." It is meant to mean nothing, and especially something totally different from what it says. Everyone believes in birth control, and nearly everybody has exercised some control over the conditions of birth. People do not get married as somnambulists or have children in their sleep. But throughout numberless ages and nations, the normal and real birth control is called self-control. If anybody says it cannot possibly work, I say it does. In many classes, in many countries, where these quack nostrums are unknown, populations of free men have re-

¹ *Social Reform versus Birth Control*, League of National Life booklet, London, p. 10.

mained within reasonable limits by sound traditions of thrift and responsibility. In so far as there is a local evil of excess, it comes with all other evils from the squalor and despair of our decaying industrialism. But the thing the capitalist newspapers call "birth control" is not control at all. It is the idea that people should be in one respect completely and utterly uncontrolled, so long as they evade everything in the function that is positive and creative, and intelligent and worthy of a free man. It is a name given to a succession of different expedients (the one that was used last is always described as having been dreadfully dangerous) by which it is possible to filch the pleasure belonging to a natural process while violently and unnaturally thwarting the process itself.

The truth is, one does not have to be a brilliant philosopher like Chesterton to see in birth control so-called a "filching of pleasure." Any normal unbiased person can see it plainly. We recall well the expression of surprise and disgust at this filching that came from the lips of a husbandman, an American farmer, when it dawned on him what birth control really meant. "Well, ain't that the cheapest you ever heard!" was his exclamation.

Chesterton ends his brief exposure of this "piece of humbug" with the following words:

The nearest and most respectable parallel would be that of the Roman epicure, who took emetics at intervals all day so that he might eat five or six luxurious dinners daily. Now any man's common sense, unclouded by newspaper science and long words, will tell him at once that an operation like that of the epicures is likely in the long run even to be bad for his digestion and pretty certain to be bad for his character. Men left to themselves have sense enough to know when a habit obviously savors of perversion and peril. And if it were the fashion in fashionable circles to call the Roman expedient

by the name of "Diet Control" and to talk about it in a lofty fashion as merely "the improvement of life and the service of life" (as if it meant no more than the mastery of man over his meals), we should take the liberty of calling it cant and saying that it had no relation to the reality in debate.

It may be well to repeat one sentence in the foregoing paragraph. It reads: "Men left to themselves have sense enough to know when a habit obviously savours of perversion and peril." The point to note about birth control so-called, is that *men have not been left to themselves*. The notion has been foisted upon them in dozens of different ways and by propaganda methods seldom duplicated in quality or in quantity. The modern methods of communication have been used for this purpose. Organized effort has been used. Defiance of the law has been used. Political pressure has been used. Even ridicule, abuse and trickery or backdoor strategy have been used. The appeals used were many and varied. The poor were appealed to. Their poverty would be alleviated, they were told. The rich were appealed to. They would not have to pay family wages to normal families. Ease and pleasure were held out as baits to all. The sex instinct, the most powerful drive in man, would be unleashed. Its pleasures could be filched, its burdens shirked. Such were at least the implications to many.

In view of the foregoing it can hardly be surprising that, in spite of the fact that not one substantial argument can be mustered in favor of birth control, the movement has enjoyed a tremendous growth. The results have been truly dreadful. They have been hardly less than disastrous to society and the nation. It is to these results that we shall turn first.

Chapter I DEPOPULATING THE NATION

The greatest of all curses is the curse of sterility, and the severest of all condemnations should be that visited upon wilful sterility. The first essential in any civilization is that the man and woman should be the father and mother of healthy children so that the race will increase and not decrease.—Theodore Roosevelt.

It would take volumes to indicate in full measure the truly dreadful results of birth control propaganda and practice in the world today. All that can be done here is to show some of the main results that flow in whole or in part from this destructive movement. In this particular chapter, first of all, attention will be directed to one of the most obvious results, the drop in the birth rate, the effect on population from the viewpoint of numerical strength.

Malthus' Warning

It should be in place to note, before turning directly to this subject, that Thomas R. Malthus, the English minister, whose name has been for decades associated with the birth control movement, did not favor birth control in the sense that it is understood today. What he advocated was a voluntary check on population growth through self-restraint. In fact, he made it clear that he definitely feared a speedy depopulation if other than moral methods of control were resorted to. "It would be too easy and too convenient to arrest, even completely," he stated, "the increase of population, and one would

fall into the opposite danger.¹ Furthermore, he wrote in this connection the following lines:

The disorder of our manners which is carried so far as to prevent the birth of children, appears to degrade human nature and rob it of its dignity. It produces this effect on man, and degrades still more the character of woman. It effaces in her the characteristics which are most lovable and which constitute her nature.

There is overwhelming evidence today that his fear of an arrested population growth, or even outright depopulation, granted the use of an artificial method of population control, had a very real basis. The whole Western World, which for more than a century had enjoyed an unusual population growth, suddenly saw that growth strikingly halted, once it rejected Malthus' warning, and adopted the practice of artificial birth control or the so-called "new" Malthusianism. Most of the nations of the Western World today, our own United States among them, stand on the verge of decline.

U. S. Population

It is said that Abraham Lincoln thought that by this time, if not even before, the United States would be a nation of 250,000,000 people. On the basis of the country's rate of growth, up to the time of the Civil War, that was not at all a haphazard statement. And what a different picture the world would present today had these prospects become a reality? Under those circumstances would any nation have dared to break the peace with us? Or if, in spite of all, they had broken the peace, would not the prospects of our soldiers be entirely different as they now go to do battle on all the fronts of the world?

1. Quoted in Paul Bureau, *Towards Moral Bankruptcy*, p. 386.

But, no. There are not 250,000,000 Americans today. There are not 200,000,000. Indeed, there are not 150,000,000. There are approximately 133,000,000. Furthermore, according to our *Census Bureau* there is but meagre prospect for much further growth. Indeed, the 1940 Census showed that the shadow of actual population decline is close upon us. It made the foreboding statement that, if present birth and death rates continued, the population of the United States would fail to maintain itself by about four per cent per generation. In view of the unparalleled growth of the United States over many of the past decades of its history, that statement would seem almost incredible. Yet, here are the words of the *Census Bureau* itself, released under date of January 31, 1941:

If present birth and death rates continue, the population of the United States will fail to maintain its numbers by approximately 4 per cent per generation. If the 1930 birth and death rates had continued, the population of the country would more than reproduce its numbers by about 11 per cent per generation. It is clear, therefore, that sometime during the decade 1930-40 birth rates and death rates changed so as to pass the critical point at which the population would remain stationary, that is, the point at which the number of persons in the country would neither increase nor decrease. If present birth and death rates continue, the non-white population of this country will, in the long run, increase at the rate of about 7 per cent per generation, while the white population (including the Mexicans) will decrease at the rate of about 5 per cent per generation. These conclusions are based on an analysis of the age composition of the population as disclosed by a preliminary tabulation of a 5 per cent cross-section of the 1940 population census returns.

In 1940, the net reproduction rate of the United States, based on an analysis of the 1940 census age composition statistics, was about 96, as compared with a rate of approximately 111 in 1930. Thus, if the 1930 birth and death rates had continued, the population of the United States in the long run would have continued to grow at the rate of about 11 per cent per generation. In 1940, however, as a result of changes in fertility and mortality during the decade, the population was no longer maintaining its numbers. As a matter of fact, if the birth and death rates continue, the population would in the long run fail to reproduce itself by about 4 per cent per generation.

The release went on to say:

The decline in the net reproduction rate was greater for the white than for the non-white population. In 1940, the net reproduction rate of the white population (including Mexicans) had dropped to about 95 from a rate of 111 in 1930, thus passing the critical point of base population maintenance. The net reproduction of the non-white population declined to 107 in 1940 from 110 in 1930. Thus, although there was also a decline in the net reproduction of the non-whites, the rate did not drop below that required for a stationary population.

The foregoing does not mean that there is already an actual decline in population in the United States. In fact, between 1930 and 1940, there was still a population growth of 7.2 per cent. But the 4 per cent deficit spoken of does mean that there are no longer enough births to maintain permanently the population of the nation. That is, if the girls born during the decennial period, 1930-1940, were to have on the average only as many children as their own mothers had, there would then be an

actual drop of 4 per cent in the population of the nation—granted, of course, no change in the death rate. As a matter of fact, there has been, as we shall see later, a slight upturn in the birth rate since 1940.

Past Growth

Nor is the actual growth of 7.2 per cent in ten years anything at all to boast about. In truth, it is less than half the country's growth for any decade since the Census was first taken up in 1790. The actual figures of growth over the past are illuminating. To be sure, up until the most recent decades a large part of the growth came from immigration. Yet, the natural increase through births was large too. Early American families were commonly fairly large families. The largest percentage of growth is found in the period preceding the Civil War. Thus, from 1790 to 1860 the (U. S.) rate of growth ranged between 36.4 per cent and 32.7 per cent per decade. Following the Civil War there was some slowing up. But, at that, it still stood at 20.7 per cent for the decade 1900-10. Then came a further decline, the rates for the remaining decades being 14.9 per cent (1910-20, the World War decade), 16.1 (1920-30) and, as already indicated, 7.2 per cent (1930-40). It is when one contrasts the first of these percentages—36.4—with the last—7.2—that one is struck by the tremendous slackening of our rate of growth. Not only is that the smallest percentage of growth for a decade ever recorded, it is also less than one-half that of any decade since the first census. Actual population decline cannot be far ahead unless some radical and unexpected changes take place. And once a population starts on its downward course it is very hard

to arrest the decline. The same is true of a declining birth rate, even before it brings about an actual population decline.

How narrow the margin between births and deaths in the United States has recently become is indicated by the following words written in 1939 by Dr. Oliver E. Baker, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture: "Births now add about 1.7 per cent each year to the population, and deaths subtract about 1.1 per cent."²

Urban Births

If we limit our consideration to cities alone we find a far worse situation. In our large cities we find many more deaths than births. As Dr. Baker has shown, in cities of 100,000 population and over of the United States, on the average only seven persons are being born to replace ten now in existence. If birth and death rates remain as they are, these seven will produce only about five children, and the five will produce but three. Thus, in three generations or approximately 100 years, these cities—barring accessions from outside—would decline by two-thirds. For example, if a city had 3,000,000 people today, it would only have 1,000,000 a century hence.

Specific Cities

But the decline in the rate in certain large cities is much more striking than the foregoing average of a general type. The following examples are taken from a report of the *Census Bureau*, which shows the birth rates of cities of 100,000 population or more between 1915—or since the year that the particular city has been in the registration area

2. *Two Trends of Great Agricultural Significance*, Extension Service Circular 306, p. 9.

—and 1933: San Francisco, 16.7 (per 1000 population) in 1919, 10.5 in 1933; Yonkers, 27.2 in 1915, 12.4 in 1933; Somerville, 22.9 in 1915, 11.5 in 1933; Kansas City (Mo.), 17.0 in 1927, 13.5 in 1933; Milwaukee, 25.7 in 1916, 13.9 in 1933; Hartford, 33.0 in 1915, 21.8 in 1933. There are other large cities, in which the decline is much less striking.

Not a few American cities showed an actual numerical decline in 1940 over 1930. Migration may account for part of this. But it by no means accounts for all of it.

Rural Rates

The striking drop in our cities is still offset in some measure by a higher rural rate. But that is now rapidly dropping too. The greatest efforts of organized birth control seem now centered in the rural Southern States where our birth rate is highest.

Speaking of the differences between urban and rural birth rates Dr. Baker states in the circular just cited: "The reproduction rate in the large cities in 1930 was only about half that in the farm population. In the large cities it was lowest in the business and professional groups. Today it is probable that in these classes the reproduction rate is only 50 to 60 per cent of that necessary to keep their population stationary. The conditions of living and the philosophy of life prevalent in the cities evidently tend toward extinction."

When one notes the recent declines in rural rates one may well conclude that if, unlike urban life, conditions of living and the philosophy of life prevalent in the country do not tend to extinction, the organized efforts of birth controllers will cause it to do so without much further delay.

In one of the publications of the *Rural Research Unit of the WPA*, we read the following: "According to available data, 444 children under 5 years of age per 1000 white women, 20-44 years of age, are now necessary in order to maintain a stationary population."³ The statement continues that "because of the higher death rates, the number rises to 499 among Negroes in the country as a whole."

Striking differences are found in the actual fertility rates in various counties of one and the same state. Thus in the state of Missouri, in 1930, Carter, Iron and Reynolds Counties had fertility ratios of 971, 977 and 1,047 respectively, for the native white rural-farm population, while at the other extreme, Lewis, Monroe, and Know Counties had ratios, respectively of only 432, 434, and 497. Of all the 3,052 counties in the United States having 100 women or more, aged 20-44 years in 1930, more than one-half had rural fertility ratios lower than 440, while 45 counties had ratios of 990 or more.⁴

Urban And Rural Population Contrasts

It was stated in the preceding pages that the rate of decline of births has become more rapid in the country than in the city. Proof for this is found, aside from other sources, in "Urban Data," (p. 21) of the *National Resources Committee*. Thus, these data show that, in 1910, the ratio of children under five years to native white women, 20 to 44 years of age, stood at 779, in rural districts, as compared with 399, in urban areas. But in 1930 the corresponding ratios were 683 and 380, respectively. These changes represent a fall of 12 per cent in the rural districts as compared with a fall of only 5 per cent

3. *Rural Families on Relief*, pp. 59-61.

4. *Rural Migration in the United States*, p. 55. *Rural Research Unit of WPA Study*.

in the urban. To be sure, the rate had much farther to fall in the former than in the latter instance.

Continuous Decline

United States Census Bureau computations show that the birth rate for the registration area of the United States declined almost continuously between 1915 and 1939. In 1915 the rate was 25.1 live births per 1,000 population; in 1939, it was 17.4. In 1933 it stood at 16.5. Only in two other years did it drop below 17.0, namely in 1935 (16.9) and in 1936 (16.7).

A striking picture of what has been going on with regard to the birth rate in the United States is given us by the following words of Dr. Paul Popenoe, an individual, incidentally, who in principle upholds birth control:

Of all women who marry, in the white population of the United States, one-fourth will never produce a child . . . one-fifth produces a child apiece, another fifth two children apiece. This leaves, roughly speaking, *one third of all white wives producing more or less normal families*, since three or more children per married couple are necessary to keep the race from dying out.⁵

An Example

The following instance may suggest still further how utterly decadent a people can really become when it falls a victim to unnatural practices. A priest, taking up a census in one of our larger American cities, found this situation in one apartment house: 200 families, 67 dogs, 12 children. That will at first blush seem an extreme case. Yet, everyone familiar with conditions in our cities will realize the example by no means stands alone.

5. *Modern Marriage*, 1941, p. 249.

School Enrollment

The decline in our school enrollments also shows the decline in the number of births. Moreover, it is at the same time an augury of what lies ahead. There are 2,000,000 fewer children in the grades of the public school system than a decade ago.⁶ Dr. Baker, speaking in 1939, asserted that enrollment in the elementary schools as a whole was declining, about 200,000 a year. He added that there were about 12 per cent fewer children under 10 years of age in the nation than there were 8 years ago when the 1930 census was taken.⁷

Meantime the number of old people in our population is increasing. A larger number of old people means a greater number of deaths. Fewer births and more deaths, both on a considerable scale, constitute a truly foreboding situation for a nation.

Further *implications* of the drop in the school population may be seen in the following. The Board of Education of Pittsburgh reported in 1940 that a total of 446 teachers in the public schools of the city lost their jobs since 1930, because of decreased school attendance. In addition some 30 principals and 31 supervisors and directors in lower grades were dismissed. During the year 1939 alone 150 teachers were dropped.

The following comes from New York: Dr. Harold G. Campbell, speaking over Station WNYC on the New York University Diplomas and Jobs Series, declared that, because of the declining birth rate of the metropolis (N. Y. C.), opportunities for obtaining teaching positions in the elementary schools have been eliminated almost entirely. This

6. NEA Research Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, September 1940, p. 135.

7. Baker, *Op. Cit.*

cannot surprise one when he notes what has been transpiring. A preliminary report on registration for New York City's public schools for the fall term of 1940 showed a record decline in enrollment. The loss—37,319 pupils—is the greatest drop in any single year in the history of the public school system there.

Insofar as births in New York City are concerned, census figures show that the number dropped from 140,177 in 1915 to 101,926 in 1938. Meanwhile, over the same period the population of the city grew by many hundreds of thousands. These figures should suggest that if birth control is to solve a city's problems, as many birth controllers seem to think it will, New York City should stand in the forefront as the ideal city. And yet, how disappointed the birth controllers themselves seem to be in results there. Speaking at a fund raising campaign for the organized uncontrollers at a gathering at the Barclay Hotel, New York, Mrs. Vincent Meehan scored the notion of a higher birthrate as a war aid. Describing as one of "the hideous conditions in our midst" the "ever increasing numbers of destitute and dependent children committed as public charges," she cites for particular condemnation "the five boroughs of New York City, which has been thought the most progressive city in the nation."⁸

The populations of other countries too have in no uncertain way felt the effects of artificial birth control. And these effects are showing themselves in a variety of ways. An English publication, *The Month*, recently referred in its "Editorial Comments" to the fact that a member of the Netherlands

8. *The New York Times*, February 17, 1942.

Government, Dr. Kerstens, expressed concern as well as sorrow for what he frequently read in the obituary notices of British soldiers and airmen. It was the fact that they were the only sons of their parents. The "Comments" add: "We recall similar death notices in French newspapers during the 1914-1918 war; so often, it was *le fils unique*.⁹

Dr. Baker, eminent American population authority, to whom we have already referred, says much the same in different words. He writes: "In most countries of Northern Europe and the United States a stationary population is likely to be attained within one to three decades, indeed has already been reached in Great Britain, France, and Sweden." He adds: "And in all northern European countries except the Netherlands, this stationary condition will probably be followed by a declining population, because not enough children are being born to maintain permanently the present population."¹⁰

France

It may be well to take a look at some of the other countries that have courted birth control. It might contain a lesson for the United States. Outstanding is, of course, the example of France. Mrs. Sanger wrote of this unfortunate country more than a decade ago:

The French predilection for quality rather than for quantity was evidenced in the falling birth rate; though militarists and imperialists were bitter in their denunciation of the movement. The World War and the eventual triumph of militarism were finally to effect a *volte-face*, and the nation which had perhaps done more than any other to teach 'conscious

9. *The Month*, March-April, 1942.

10. *Op. Cit.*

procreation' was by the irony of circumstances to give prizes to the parents of large families and later to enact new and drastic laws against the practice of contraception.

Such was the official attitude. But go into the little theatres, the music halls, read the daily press, and you will discover that despite these laws, the French will never give up their right to decide for themselves the matter of prudential parenthood.¹¹

Yes, the French insisted on their "right." But it was not the right, which everyone actually has, to prudential parenthood. It was the assumed right to shirk their duty to *La Patrie*, to permit their country to die. Long the most powerful nation of Europe, France is today a pitiful example of what such an unnatural practice as contraception can do to a nation. She was among the first to popularize the notion of birth control. And she has been among the first to pay the penalty. For decades past her ablest scholars and most loyal leaders—these rather than evil-minded militarists and imperialists—had warned her in vain of the results if she did not mend her way. The description of destructive immorality of all kinds drawn by the able writer and social student, Paul Bureau, in his book, *Towards Moral Bankruptcy*, should have led the French people to change their course. But they refused to do so. The case shows clearly, vividly in fact, what is after all quite self-apparent, that, once a people is demoralized it is exceedingly difficult to lift it to higher levels again. Special legislation was passed shortly after the close of the First World War in an effort to stem the flood of immorality and ruin that was inundating the country. But neither this nor

11. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 69.

the dreadful ordeal of the War itself was enough to stop the onrushing flood. Eventually there was the country's collapse in the second World War. In taking hold of the helm of state at this time the aged Marshall Henri Petain pointed to the source of France's trouble, saying in substance:

There has been too much running after pleasure. There has been too little discipline of life. There have been too few children. France had a half million more men after fighting for three years in the first World War than she had when the second World War began.

Even decades before, the eminent Frenchman, Charles Gide, had written for the benefit of his country these warning words:

The men of my generation have seen in the short space of one man's life the population of France passed, about 1865, by that of Germany; about 1880 by Austria-Hungary, about 1895 by England. And now it is Italy's turn! They have known within fifty years, an Italy which had but 25,000,000 inhabitants, and which France treated with the protecting familiarity of a great lady who gives her hand to a little child. Tomorrow, or the day after, France will well go on tiptoe if she is to give her hand to Italy.¹²

If we single out one year, 1910, one of the last years in which there was not an absolute deficiency in the French birth rate, we get some idea of the great difference in growth of France and Germany by contrasting the number of births over deaths in the two countries that year. The excess of births over deaths in France was 70,000; that of Germany, 880,000.

As Bureau points out, this self-destruction,

12. Quoted in Paul Bureau, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

through tampering with the natural law, did not go unnoticed in the Eastern world. Thus, he calls attention to the fact that a Japanese journalist wrote of France as far back as October, 1904:

France is no longer what she was. In spite of the external glitter of her civilization she is absolutely rotten to the core; we may envy her refinement, her artistic possessions, and her wealth, but her vital energy is exhausted. Her population dwindles from day to day, and it is not unreasonable to believe that she will disappear from the rank of nations toward the end of this century.¹³

Others wrote in similar vein. One of her own historians stated her case thus: "I do not know whether France will live or die, but I know well that her extremities are already cold." But, in spite of all warnings, the French people did not listen. They had taken the easy road, down hill. Morally enfeebled, they could not muster the courage to pull up grade again. They continued their downward course, constantly gaining momentum.

In the face of all of this Mrs. Sanger writes:

France is making a vain attempt to increase her population by bonuses to those parents who will produce large families. The day is *here* when the Government of the United States should award bonuses to *discourage* large families.¹⁴

Sweden

Sweden holds the record for having the lowest birth rate of the countries of the world. Also in terms of net reproduction rates is her position the lowest of all. Her radical feminist leader, Ellen Key, and her student crusader "against Victorian

13. Paigo

14. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 290.

public hypocrisy," Knut Wicksell,¹⁵ did their work thoroughly. Even some years before their deaths unbelievable and irreparable damage had been done.

The downward trend began in the 1880's. It had gained considerable momentum by the end of the century. "After 1910," states Myrdal,¹⁶ "this decrease became the outstanding feature of the whole demographic development, at present wrought with catastrophic significance." This is well shown to be the case in the following figures of the so-called net reproductivity. Expressing a population's ability to reproduce itself as the number of girls which 1,000 newborn girls may be expected to bear during their lifetime, calculations show that up to 1910 that figure remained around 1,500. But from there on there was a noteworthy decline. Thus, for the period 1911-1915, it was around 1,300; in 1930 it stood at 828; during most of the 1930s it fluctuated between 725 and 750. The meaning of the figures is obvious. Sweden today has only three-fourths enough births to sustain its population in the long run. When the present baby girls become Sweden's mothers, the nation will be in decline, granting the same fertility and mortality conditions as today.

In 1937, the Swedish birth rate was 14.4 per 1,000 population. Calculated the same way, the death rate was 12.0. This left a rate of natural increase of 2.4 per 1,000. It must be noted, however, that the middle-aged groups in the population, characterized by a high fertility and a low mortality rate, are abnormally large as a result of the high birth rate before the first World War. As Alva Myrdal points out, in her volume referred to, with

15. Myrdal, Alva, *Nation and Family*, p. 24.

16. *Op. cit.*, Introduction.

corrections for age the birth rate drops to 11.8 per 1,000 while the death rate rises to 15.6. This implies a natural decrease at a rate of 3.8 per 1,000 instead of an increase of 2.4.

The rate of marital fertility in Sweden, which Myrdal defines as "the number of children born per 1,000 married women, 15-44 years of age," has shown a greater fall than the general birth rate. It fell from 300.9 in 1871-1880 to 113.5 in 1934—a decline of 62 per cent, while the general birth rate fell only 55 per cent. It was still lower in 1935, namely 112.1. In 1936 and 1937, however, there was a slight increase, the respective figures being 114.5 and 114.0. The causes of this slight upturn are temporary. There is no real reason to believe that they represent a reversal of the long time downward trend.¹⁷

Oddly enough, the so-called "Democratic Family and Population Policy" adopted by Sweden to counteract the downward trend in its birth rate, rather than rejecting artificial birth control really calls for its extension. It seeks the removal of all barriers to making it known, as well as to the free dissemination of the means used in its practice. So too does it legalize such related destructive vagaries as sterilization and abortion. Stranger still, if that is possible, it does all this in the name of democracy.

Great Britain

Great Britain is another democracy and western world power whose population statistics are now giving much concern to her genuine patriots and friends. And the cause is not Malthusianism, or the self-control advocated by her oft-quoted Malthus. It is Neo-Malthusianism, the uncontrol that

17. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 75-76.

is artificial birth control. Great Britain has had her Marie Stopes, her Drysdale, her Huxleys, and others. And now she has the results. She is reaping the harvest. There is no need for totaling up statistics to show the result. Let the following suffice: the birth rate of England and Wales fell from something over 35 per 1,000 in 1880 to just 15 per 1,000 in 1939. Her critical situation today, even with all the "United Nations" at her side, is only too well known, be what may be the final outcome of the war. Let us just cite the words of one of her own before passing on. Speaking of her population, in an address made at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1937, Dr. F. McGuchin declared that, "Unless a most unexpected change in outlook occurs, a decline of one-quarter is likely within thirty years and we may even be reduced to a population of 5,000,000 in one hundred years." He added that eventually this decline might cause the disruption of the British Empire, neither Britain nor Australia having the men to man the walls against the yellow races.

Australia

The results of birth control have also shown themselves strikingly in Australia. A deputation of Catholic chemists of New South Wales, protesting the distribution of contraceptive devices and propaganda in the States declared early in 1942:

If it is assumed that 20,000 men constitute a division, then between 1922 and 1933 Australia lost nine divisions of men to defend our shores . . . If we persist in treading the same road as France, how can we escape her fate?

Referring further to the decline in births they said that "the cause of this decline is to be found in a changed attitude to parenthood," resulting from

"the elimination of ethical training from the education of children," and the modern practice of birth prevention.

New Zealand

In New Zealand the birth rate has been continuously even lower than in Australia. In both cases it has been steadily declining. In 1925, for instance, the rate was 22.9 and 21.2 for Australia and New Zealand respectively, in 1936 it was 17.1 and 16.6.

Irish Free State

The Irish Free State has also had its population worries. A preliminary report of the 1936 census, appearing in the newspapers of this country, revealed a decrease in population. In 1926, the population was 2,971,992; in 1936 it was 2,965,854. This cannot be attributed to emigration, as might perhaps have been done in earlier days. As immigration to America was suspended in 1931, there was no other outlet for emigration but Great Britain, and during the decade in question 78,130 people left the Saorstát for the United Kingdom. But a further disquieting fact must be noted, namely, that in the last five years of the decade, 23,000 persons in excess of the number that left the country had returned to Ireland from abroad, the greater number coming from America.

Unquestionably one of the causes of Eire's population difficulties is the drift to the city. Between 1926 and 1936, children under fifteen decreased by 78,000 in rural areas, while children in town areas increased by 31,000. The population of Dublin city and county grew by 112,000 between 1926 and 1941. Still another reason for the decline noted in the official statistical surveys of 1941 in Eire was the

fact of a higher percentage of bachelors and spinsters than anywhere else in the world. Many farm folk who marry do not do so until well along in years. This is probably the primary reason for "the decline in the fertility of married women at reproductive ages," referred to in the official census abstract as the cause of the big drop in the birth rate.

There is not a little evidence that the Irish are also on the decline in the United States. Several of their own number have called attention to this with regret in recent years.

The story can be repeated of still other countries of the Western World. The democracies are usually found at the bottom of the low birth rate lists. Here, for instance, are the rates for some of them for the year 1936: Scotland, 17.9, England and Wales, 14.8; Denmark, 17.8; Norway, 14.8; Sweden, 14.2; Switzerland, 15.6; Czechoslovakia, 17.4.

The Other Side Of The Picture

As is generally known, the Russian birth rate is high, and Germany and Italy have through various measures sought to increase their rate. That of Germany had spiraled downward after the World War. In 1933 it stood at a low of 14 per 1000. Then it advanced to 20, approximately where it stands today. Italy's rate has never gone under 20. It was 23.7 in 1933 and 22.4 in 1936.

The Eastern World

The largest populations of the world are found in the East, notably China and India. Apparently accurate census figures are not available here, but the population of India is usually placed at more than 350,000,000 and that of China at approximately 450,000,000.

The Japanese are not so numerous, but they have experienced a very considerable growth of recent years. A half century ago (1893) the population of Japan proper was 41,388,000. By 1923 it had grown to 60,257,000. In 1941 it stood at 72,875,000. That implies almost a doubling of population, without immigration, in the space of half a century. Including Japan's island possessions she has today a population of 105,226,000. Her birth rate in 1926 was 29.9. In the years preceding it was always over 30.

In general, these Eastern peoples, and notably their political leaders, have held out against artificial birth control. Only limited numbers among them being Christians, they do not control their populations through celibacy or conjugal continence, either.

These are matters of great significance today. They give definite point to the words of Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, in referring to the present war:

It is obvious that under cover of this war of machines there is going on a war of superiority in population between the East and the West, with the East easily the victor. And he who does not think this steady population growth will have a tremendous and overpowering hand in the world that is to follow this war is so very wrong there is no need even to argue that he is wrong.

They also give point to our decided catering to Russia and China. And it might also be added; they give point to the following words which this writer has often uttered: "The threatened doom of the white race is now much more than empty talk."

Chapter II

VITIATING SOCIETY

A society that claims to be civilized and yet allows the sex instinct free play is inoculating itself with a virus of corruption which sooner or later will destroy it. It is only a question of time.—Jean Viollet.

Birth control does not stand alone. It is but one of many forms of uncontrol, all closely linked and interrelated. Nor do declining birthrates and declining populations stand alone. They are but one part of the picture. Other parts show a decadent nation, a deeply immoral society, a selfish and undisciplined people. Or, as the author stated it elsewhere, our overall picture "shows the vicious, debilitating cancer of artificial birth control slowly draining away the vital powers of the people. It shows moral laxity, stamping in the spirit of self-indulgence, leading to the shirking of hardship and self-restraint, producing a softness and deterioration that must prove suicidal to the individual and the nation. It shows the decay as well as the decline of America." ¹

This is as much as to say that birth control is not something that stands entirely by itself. To be sure, it would be dreadful enough, both in itself and in its consequences, even at that. But it is, as a matter of fact, but a part of a much greater whole. And consequently, too, its results are much more far-reaching than if it stood alone.

1. The Threat of American Decline, N.C.W.C. publication, concluding paragraph

One cannot escape it, the family moral code is one. It, in turn, is linked inextricably with a whole philosophy of life, an entire system of ethics. Break down the moral code in regard to sex in one field, and the way is paved for infractions in other fields. Tear down a part of a system of morals and the whole system is weakened. Loosen one thread of the fabric and the whole garment speedily disintegrates. As we stated elsewhere:

Teach artificial birth control and, have no doubt about it, you will have an increase in the hideous practice of murdering the unborn child. That is plain as day in our own country. It is no less plain in other countries. Have birth control and you will have sterilization, one of the means of birth control. Have these things and you will multiply divorce, for they strike at the powerful natural bond of marriage, the child; they multiply childless and near-childless marriages. As has been repeatedly noted, 72 per cent of the divorces in the United States are granted to childless couples. Furthermore, when matters have gone far enough, notions that were formerly only whispered about, notions about doing away with distinctions between legitimacy and illegitimacy, about permitting polygamous unions under certain circumstances—yes, notions of free love—will be spoken louder and louder. We repeat: the whole system, the entire moral code of the family is linked together. Reject a part of it and there is no logical stopping place. It should be added, too, that all such contagion spreads very easily today from one part of the country to another, for it is the day of the radio, and the movie, of the rostrum and the ubiquitous press.²

2. Edgar Schmiedeler, A Leaf from the Marriage Encyclical, an address given at the Convention of the Catholic Committee of the South, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1942.

Immorality Campaigned For

Another point that is deserving of emphasis here is the fact that violations of the moral code in respect to marriage and the family are today actually taught to the people. They are encouraged. They are urged as something good. They are campaigned for. Where formerly people were taught "Thou shalt not," today they are taught "Thou shalt." Infractions of the moral code of the family, therefore, are no longer merely matters of human weakness, of temptation. They are matters of deliberate acceptance, of the deliberate acceptance of both immoral doctrines and practices. They are matters of the deliberate rejection of traditional moral standards.

There is no longer any question that there are those in increasing numbers who uphold as lawful and right, practices contrary to the natural and divine positive law regarding marriage. These deliberately accept, and even teach to others, what Pius XI in his Encyclical on *Christian Marriage* has called "the false principles of a new and utterly perverse morality," and carry them out in practice. There is no thought of guilt on their part, no acknowledgment of wrongdoing. Needless to say, this is all a different situation from that in which individuals lapsed morally, due to human weakness and the violence of passion, but admitted their guilt, and usually repented of it and strove to better themselves.

Two Views

Here then we have an entirely different ethic, a wholly different philosophy of life, from the traditional ethic and philosophy of the past. And the

difference is very basic. According to many moderns, there is no question any longer of any norm of morality outside the individual. There is no question even of a rational or reasoned ethics. In the final analysis the ultimate norm of right and wrong in the case of those who follow the new philosophy is simply desire, the whim of the moment, the enticement of animal instinct. Reason, the proper guiding factor in the realm of ethics for human beings, is dethroned. Indeed, man's higher faculties generally, his distinctly human qualities—the things that gradually lifted him from barbarism and that made possible for him a measure of progress and genuine civilization—are discounted as his moral guides. His animal tendencies are given first place and made the basis of his conduct. Desire is sovereign. The barriers set up by rational civilized man of the past are levelled. Is it any wonder then that the flood has rushed in unchecked?

We have elsewhere broadly contrasted these two views, the old or traditional one, and the new, in the following words:

The one (the former) represents domination and guidance by reason, the other (the latter) by desire; the one represents the distinctly human in man, the other the animal in him; the one represents the spiritual and moral, the other the material and sensual; the one stands for selfish gratification, the other for social and human welfare; the one stands for a balanced control, the other for uncontrol; the one is based on the belief that man is destined to an external existence beyond the grave, the other on the belief that man ceases to exist with the death of his body. ⁸

8. A Holy War, N.C.W.C. publication, Washington, D. C.

Many different harmful currents are found in the social *milieu* of the western world today, impelling the individual toward the new and away from the traditional view and ethic. Certainly outstanding among them are the following; an extreme Freudianism; a selfish individualism; a rank materialism; the general notion of free love; the utter disregard for modesty manifested in the cult of nudism; the degradation of the press, the stage, and the cinema. These are all closely linked together. Some are no more than ramifications of others. All of them have, as a matter of fact, shown much growth in our midst. Emphasis upon one or the other seems to give an impetus to still others.

Specific Family Evils

A considerable number of specific family evils have resulted from the new philosophy and its various accompanying currents and ramifications. Perhaps the main ones, besides the now ubiquitous birth control, are the following: abortion, divorce, sterilization, a general weakening or even breakdown of sex morality, both inside and outside of marriage. One even hears at times today of the approval of concubinage or the acceptance of polygamy. And, let it be repeated here, these evils are closely linked together. To embrace one means to accept the others as logical. Particularly is there no logical stopping place between them, once one has accepted sex as something to be separated in principle from the true purpose of marriage and to be made a mere means of gratification, as is so markedly true of birth control.

In the United States these matters are all verified by a multiplicity of facts. Attention has already

been given to the evil of birth control, and the resultant birth rate, questions so intimately linked with the very survival of the nation. But what of the others? What, for instance, of abortion?

Abortion

Here we find facts that are no less than staggering. They are facts that constitute a foul blot on the record of the American people. Like birth control, abortion or the killing of the unborn child, has taken on shocking proportions. The same is true in other countries. The truth is, it has grown rapidly wherever the birth control movement has grown. "One cannot be surprised at this," says Paul Bureau, "and the silly (if made ignorantly) or lying assertions of all the neo-Malthusian propagandists will not alter the fact: The spread of anti-conceptionist practices is always accompanied by an increased number of abortions."

In great measure the practice of abortion is kept under cover, since for the most part it is a "racket." Yet, in spite of this, enough is known about it to make some reasonably reliable estimates about its extent. France, for instance, has long had an unenviable record in this regard. One estimate has placed the number within her borders of recent years at over one-half million annually. In the case of pre-Hitler Germany, estimates ranging from 600,000 to 800,000 annually have been made by competent authorities. These same authorities conjecture that the measures taken against the practice by the government since 1934 have reduced the number by one-fourth or one-third. In Russia the Government for some years actually encouraged abortion by providing public abortoria. Still other countries

have had similar sordid records so far as this practice is concerned.

In the case of our own country perhaps the most acceptable estimate is that of Dr. Frederick J. Tausig, who places the annual number at 681,600 abortions, adding that "these figures are believed to be minimum." That they are indeed a minimum is easily believable when one recalls the cases of abortion "rackets" that occasionally come to light. A recent study in New York City gave as the lowest estimate for that city alone 100,000 cases a year. Some placed the estimate in this instance at 250,000. The "practitioners" were said to earn on the average \$25,000 annually. Some individuals earned much more.

Apparently "illegal operations" are becoming so common, that some wish the field for "legal" ones expanded to offset the competition. At the meeting of the Birth Control Federation of America in New York in January, 1942, Dr. A. F. Guttmacher of Johns Hopkins suggested that the medical profession relax its barriers against therapeutic abortion, in order, as he put it, "to cheat the criminal abortionist." A lot of chance the helpless unborn babe has today!

The plainly obvious, namely that abortion is murder, the taking of innocent human life, a plain violation of the Fifth Commandment, need hardly be added here. The unborn child is fundamentally and essentially a human person, and as such has the full rights of a person, even though totally incapable of asserting and protecting those rights himself. And the right to life is a most fundamental right. Undoubtedly many who are guilty of this practice at

the same time are definitely aware of its brutal injustice and the shocking moral wrong that it implies. But there are some, and even women among them, who pretend to justify the practice. Certainly it makes one conclude with Taine: "Whenever a man becomes a pagan, he finds himself licentious and hard."

Divorce

Again, there is the matter of divorce. Here, too, there is a close relationship with birth control and kindred evils. That divorce has grown very rapidly in recent decades there can be no question. And particularly has this been true among childless and near-childless couples. Several years ago, for instance, attention was drawn to the following case vouched for by Justice Harry F. Lewis of Brooklyn. In 64 undefended divorce cases heard by him in one day there was an average of only one child for every two families. The Judge noted further that most of the wives had had more husbands than children, and that their application for a new divorce was provoked by a desire to marry another husband whom they would not permit to become a father.⁴ Similar examples are not wanting. And presumably, at some American divorce mills, such as Reno, the example could be more than matched.

Not a few free love theorists have openly spoken for divorce at will. Alfred Naquet, leader in the fight for the liberalization of divorce in France a generation ago, spoke openly for the very suppression of marriage. The cause of such extremists are greatly helped by those who speak for limited divorce. The fact is that once man-made divorce is

4. **A Catechism on Birth Control**, OUR SUNDAY VISITOR PRESS, p. 22. Huntington, Ind.

accepted for any cause, there is no logical stopping place. Once the wedge has been inserted it drives deeper and deeper.

Conditions in our own country in regard to this evil are truly shocking. The rapidity of the growth of divorce and its extent are almost incredible. A half century ago there were annually in the United States about 25,000 divorces. Even that was an unusually large number among the nations of the world at the time. But today the number has grown to fully 250,000 a year. Warnings of still further increases are appearing with increasing frequency since our entrance into the war. More than likely these warnings, and the facts on which they are based, are forerunners of what is to come in the decades ahead. We know that after the last World War divorce increased greatly in many countries of the world.

The following is another figure that bears careful examination: For the period, 1906-1936, there were 3,000,000 divorces in the United States. The annual average during that period was considerably less than the annual number the past few years. Yet at that, we say, there were in that short space of three decades 3,000,000 divorces—3,000,000 homes rent asunder, 6,000,000 dreams of marital bliss ended in disaster. What that means in terms of psychic scars, of hate and unhappiness, it may not be easy fully to appreciate. What it means in terms of juvenile delinquency, of ruined and distorted lives of American children who are denied a fundamental right, the right to a home and to a father and mother, is not easy to comprehend.

How very far this cancer of divorce has eaten

into certain communities, certain particular parts of the body social, is suggested by the following example in the volume of the American Association of School Administrators, *Education for Family Life*. In one high school class consisting of twenty-two girls, seventeen came from homes broken by divorce.

In view of this situation there is small wonder indeed that Pope Pius XII wrote in his Encyclical, "To the Church in the United States," issued on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the American hierarchy: "Oh, if only your country had come to know from the experience of others rather than from examples at home of the accumulation of ills which derive from the plague of divorce."

Well too may Americans contemplate the words which His Holiness quoted in the same document from the Marriage Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII (*Arcanum*) written more than a half century before:

Because of divorce, the nuptial contract becomes subject to fickle whim; affection is weakened; pernicious incentives are given to conjugal infidelity; the care and education of offspring are harmed; easy opportunity is afforded for the breaking up of homes; the seeds of discord are sown among families; the dignity of woman is lessened and brought down and she runs the risk of being deserted after she has served her husband as an instrument of pleasure. And since it is true that for the ruination of the family and the undermining of the State nothing is so powerful as the corruption of morals, it is easy to see that divorce is of the greatest harm to the prosperity of families and of States.

Concubinage

An evil not entirely unrelated to others we have been discussing in this chapter is concubinage, cohabitation of men and women not legally married. Considering our moral conditions, one may not be surprised to learn that there is some concubinage in this country. But one might be very much surprised if he learned the full extent of it. That full extent is not generally known, if at all. But occasionally the veil is lifted sufficiently to give a fair idea of its extent. One such lifting of the veil took place almost two decades ago, made in a careful study by Dr. E. R. Mowrer, in a downtown rooming house area of one of our largest American cities. And what is revealed was this: sixty percent of the couples living together in that particular area were married neither with benefit of clergy nor by representative of the state. And the city in question was in a State that did not permit common law marriages. Shocking, to be sure. And yet, what else can one expect in a civilization that deliberately preaches a philosophy of irrestraint; that gives the flesh precedence over the heart, the animal instinct over human sentiment; that dethrones reason and enthrones voluptuousness.

Sterilization

Not strikingly different from artificial birth control is sterilization. Indeed, the latter is one of the methods of birth control. Like contraception generally it separates sex or physical love from procreation. It is not at all surprising therefore that the sterilization movement gained momentum in the United States with the growth of contraception. Dr. Paul Popenoe tells us that its voluntary use has be-

come more common than is generally recognized. Its compulsory use in certain cases of the so-called unfit, we know, has been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. According to a number of state laws also, sterilization is compulsory. Implying as it does, an unwarranted maiming of the human body, both voluntary and compulsory sterilization is morally wrong.

Incidentally, compulsory sterilization leaves the door wide ajar to totalitarianism. It places in the hands of the state the power to control procreation.

Other practices mentioned in this chapter also tend to enhance the power of the state to a dangerous degree. They tend to kill the family sense more and more. And, invariably, as the prestige of the family wanes the influence of the State grows. Under the circumstances the child comes to be viewed increasingly as a creature of the State and less and less as a creature of the parents. The state increasingly assumes the right of control over him. Usually it begins by controlling his education. Eventually it even seeks to control his very existence; that is, it assumes, as it actually has done under the compulsory sterilization laws, the right to control births. The State in other words becomes the very reason for the child's existence. This is a matter that can augur no possible good for the fundamental rights and liberties of a people.

Chapter III

RUINING YOUTH

It was putting it mildly, though it was disturbing enough at that, when Eleanor Glueck of Harvard University stated a year or so ago: "Sociologists would agree that the last quarter century has witnessed a gradual weakening of the moral fibre of family and of community life."¹ Indeed, it is hardly putting it too strong to say that for a quarter of a century the United States has been on what might fittingly be called a sex spree, an orgy of sexual uncontrol. That the youth of the land, the unmarried, have been greatly affected, hardly calls for proof or discussion, or for that matter, for much statement of fact. It is known and admitted. Some deplore it. Some are indifferent to it. Still others, particularly sex merchants of various kinds, even deliberately help to bring it about.

Many factors have contributed to this truly unfortunate situation. But there can be little question that no one single factor has done so much to foster it and give it continued impetus than the birth control movement and the propaganda and rackets that have gone hand in hand with it. To show that such is the case, to indicate that birth control and its concomitant or associated evils have played a very large part in destroying the virtue of vast numbers of the youth of the nation, little more is necessary than the citation of a few unprejudiced authorities who have spoken on the subject. There are at hand large numbers from whom selection may be made.

1. Address, given at the 1941 meeting of the New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children.

In England

"The advocates of birth control must shoulder full responsibility for the widespread and increasing use of their devices by the unmarried, and by the sensual, selfish, undisciplined, and uninstructed youth and girlhood of the nation." ² These words can easily be accepted by anyone at all acquainted with the frightful moral ravages brought on by the birth control movement in every country in which it has made its influence felt. The paragraph in which they are embodied should help to make their meaning crystal clear as well as convincing beyond doubt. It reads:

The advocates of 'birth control' reject these principles (of marital continence). Sexual intercourse, they say, is an end in itself, alone sufficient, and good for its own sake. Restraint is self-repression, and to demand it is to ask what is bad if not impossible. But if self-indulgence is to be sought for its own sake as the primary and sole purpose of sexual intercourse, why refuse it to the unmarried? Why not permit it to all and sundry, married or not, provided that the most hygienic and up-to-date methods of 'birth control' are adopted? The road to promiscuity is thus flung open, and marriage will be no more than chance intercourse, save in so far and as long as it suited the convenience of the parties. Or why hold that unnatural vice in any form is forbidden, if thereby self-indulgence is satisfied? The suggestion comes as a shock, yet if self-restraint is bad and self-indulgence good, the advocate of 'birth control' can have no moral law and you open the flood gates. You can watch the destruction which follows. You are powerless to check it. The moral law, it must be remembered, is easy to attack, difficult to defend, and the more easy

2. The Christian Democrat, London, June, 1926

if the attack is delivered under the banner of a supposed enlightenment and sympathy. Life is difficult and he who comes forward with an easy panacea for its ills will never lack an audience. Yet not by such aid nor by such defenders are we to win through. The matter is grave and the responsibility great. *And the advocates of 'birth control' must shoulder full responsibility for the widespread and increasing use of their devices by the unmarried, and by the sensual, selfish, undisciplined and uninstructed youth and girlhood of the nation.* To refuse such responsibility is sheer hypocrisy, not so much because once set in motion, the indiscriminate traffic in contraceptives is almost impossible of control, as because in refusing self-restraint and in living for sensuality as an aim in life these young people are but pushing 'birth control' principles to their logical consequences. Once accept such doctrines and you are powerless to prevent or to denounce the complete destruction of that Christian morality which explains our sense of shame and modesty, as it exalts purity and hallows married life. You take your part in reversing the achievements of Christian civilization and in hastening a return to the utter licence, promiscuity and the degeneration of pagan days where woman was a slave and the home a harem.

The United States

No less applicable are the foregoing words to the United States than they are to England. Here in our country birth control propaganda has shown itself a most serious social menace. It has struck at the family life of the present generation of parents. It has undermined the morals of youth, of the unmarried. The author of the booklet, *A Catechism of Birth Control*, calls attention to this in the following question and answer:

Does not the advocacy of the use of contraceptive devices create a great danger for unmarried youths?

Of course it does; and if these devices were one hundred per cent safe, a large portion of young America would become demoralized. There can be no comparison between the economic and the temporal benefit which their use might bring to the married and the moral harm their use do to the unmarried.

The author of the same booklet then goes on to quote the following words of Dr. Victor C. Pederson, an eminent New York physician and surgeon:

It is concubinage, not marriage; the new era of prostitution, teaching our mothers and daughters, sweethearts and wives the common practices of the brothel. There is nothing in this birth control movement which the common prostitute does not practice in one way or another.

Another question and answer reads as follows:

Has birth control propaganda resulted in the moral perversion of youth?

Those who have carefully taken even local surveys are certain that it has. In a certain midwest city, with a population of about 130,000, a survey disclosed the fact that contraceptive devices were sold at 503 places and that, in addition, they were peddled by high school children for pin money.

And again:

In *Time*, January 29, 1934, Stella Block Hanan of the *Birth Control Review* is quoted as saying that in the vicinity of New York alone 300 manufacturers are making contraceptives of one sort or another; that, as far back as 1932, a survey of Western Florida showed that 'one form of contraceptive was being sold in 376 gasoline stations, garages, restaurants, soda fountains, barber shops, pool rooms, cigar

stands, newsstands, shoe shine parlors, grocery stores. Slot machines for dispensing them exist in several states.³

Link With Lewd Literature

Bishop John F. Noll gives the following insight into the birth control "racket" and its link with lewd literature:

The birth control movement was started by professionals, and then promoted by those who saw a chance of profiting from the manufacture and sale of contraceptives. Even its propaganda was carried on behind a 'humanitarian' banner, and therefore, in time, won the support of practically all those who were impressed by the idealism of the Communist. It had been assisted, of course, by the economic depression, as was the Communist movement also. The whole country is now at its mercy, and will in a few years, feel its terrible consequences in more ways than one. Mrs. Sanger's followers have joined the publishers and sellers of lewd literature to block the passage of the Gillie Bill by the United States Senate.⁴

Courtney R. Cooper, who had made important surveys for such agencies as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and the Post Office Inspection Department also contributes information on this subject, as Bishop Noll points out in his *Manual*. For instance, Cooper speaks of peddlers, consisting of "ex-boot-leggers, cheap crooks and petty larceny chislers" using as an approach to people such articles as razor-blades, shoe strings, and the like. After these have been offered for sale, they turn to their real business. This, he says, is concerned "with a new form of money-

3. J. F. N., *Catechism of Birth Control*, Our Sunday Visitor Press, p. 21.

4. Foreword, *Manual of N.O.D.L.*, Our Sunday Visitor Press

making—the bringing of contraceptives and filth directly to the consumer.” With its development he adds, “Obscenity took on a sudden boom.”

Cooper goes on to explain:

It is one thing for a youth or a moron to hear about something off-color which can be obtained by a great deal of trouble, with the possibility of discovery. It is entirely different when this obscenity is brought directly to some immature brain, together with the arguments: ‘It’s a chance to make some nice money for yourself. Buy ’em from me for ten cents apiece, look at ’em first, and then sell ’em for a quarter.’

There are numerous instances where minor peddlers have been thus appointed among school children, especially high-school students.⁵

Still further on Cooper writes:

The Youngs Rubber Corporation of New York City, manufacturer of contraceptives for drugstore sale only, recently caused a survey to be made in a large city to determine what became of ‘rubber goods’ purchased from peddler’s supply houses. It was found that they ended up in gas stations, garages, auto-supply stores, restaurants, roadhouses, cafes, lunch-rooms, soda fountains, road stands, barber-shops, pool and billiard halls, cigar stands, candy stores, news-stands, bootblacks, food shops, grocery stores, with peddlers, porters, door men and bellboys. Not a doctor, a druggist, a wholesaler, a jobber or hospital was on the entire list.

All this comes under the head of big business. In at least one city, it has resulted in a type of merchandise warfare. The place is Detroit, where the contraceptive has come into the open and is sold at some twenty special stores. Incidentally there has been little opposition to them from the churches. The only enemy seems to be the Retail Druggists’ Association.

5. *Designs in Scarlet*, quoted in *Manual*, pp. 24-25.

Two years ago, this group fathered an ordinance which provided the contraceptives could be sold only by registered pharmacists. The drugstores countered last November with an ordinance forbidding such sales in any store which does not actually fill medical prescriptions. However, the 'Latex Shops', as they are called from a trade name for rubber will continue. A loophole in the older laws allows their commodity to be sold in any drugstore. ⁶

School Pupils Initiated

Evidence has for some years accumulated showing the birth control interests at work in various ways in the school system. One striking example of this is recorded in the Hearings on a birth control bill before a Sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, during the Seventy-Second Congress. It is embodied in a statement by Rita C. McGoldrick, who spoke for the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae. Incidentally, the statement also shows how the birth control "racket" reaches into the very homes of the people. The statement, almost incredible in its full implications, merits complete quotation here:

In the brief time allotted to me before this committee there are two points which I should like to make for your earnest consideration, without touching upon the religious, economic, or legal aspects of these amendments. The letting down of the bars of legislation on the dissemination of birth control information, the distribution of contraceptives and the freer importation of such articles is to let loose a flood of temptation upon a younger generation, and I am using the word 'younger' with particular emphasis. It will mean that the boys and girls of this nation may obtain dangerous information that

6. Manual, pp. 29-30

they might otherwise not meet with until they were much older. It will mean an aroused curiosity, experimentation, promiscuity—and inevitably, of course, disease—for you know, Mr. Chairman, that the proponents of this measure can not claim that contraceptives prevent the worst communicable diseases that medical science deals with; the kind of physical curse which contracted by boy or girl may be passed on for more than one generation.

Does this sound a little lurid, perhaps a little far fetched? I mean it to sound bitter, for as the wife of a doctor, I have heard more than the average woman of the tragedies that find their way into hospitals. And as the mother of five children I am deeply concerned, as every true mother in this country is, that my growing boys and girls will be protected from temptation themselves and the curse that might come to them through unfortunate companionship.

The immediate story, however, is this: It makes it necessary for me to bring the name of George Washington into the proceedings, and in this year of our honoring him, I would like to apologize to him for doing so. There is, in the city of New York, at Audubon Avenue at one hundred and ninety-second Street, one of the greatest co-educational public high schools in the United States. It is called proudly the "George Washington High" and it has an enrollment of 6,000 students. Think of it, Mr. Senator, that is a fairly large-sized town in a great many communities in this country. On the corner of the city block on which that big school stands there is a prominent drug store patronized by the students. This week the main show window of the store had a huge placard announcing the sale of contraceptives and how and where further information may be obtained. The window itself is tastefully decorated to feature a complete display for all contraceptive articles. On the count-

er inside are booklets for sale at the cost of 10 cents. Here is one of them purchased at that drug store. You will see, Mr. Senator, on pages 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 and on pages 18, 19, and 20, that the instructions are not only definitely specific, but diagrammed. This, of course, is a flagrant violation of the law in the State of New York. These pamphlets are sold to the students of the high school. The principal of the school, Mr. Arthur A. Boylan, told me yesterday that he stopped into the store at the closing of school to find 40 of his students at the counter.

And that is not half the story. Here are four other pamphlets that have come to me this year by way of the United States mails, three of them addressed by stenciled machine to Miss Rita McGoldrick, and I have a small daughter by that name into whose hands they might fall; they too, leave nothing to the imagination, or hazardous guess, in that the instructions are complete.

Do you think this kind of thing is fair to the growing boys and girls of this nation? Do you think it easy for them to venture into deeper channels than they are prepared for? Should we open the doors to disease for them? Are we to sponsor by legislation a race of moral and mental weaklings?

The second point briefly is this: We have at the present time enough laws and unhappy amendments on the books of this country which we are seeing flagrantly violated. No group sins more openly in this than the birth control enthusiasts. This George Washington High School thing is a perfect example. In the heart of the city of New York this propaganda is deliberately attempted, and with deliberate intent to reach high school people. To pass the amendments under consideration today would be to encourage and strengthen a form of busi-

ness racket that at the present moment needs investigation.

Mr. Chairman, may I, representing the 100,000 women of our organization, ask your committee formally to inquire into the profit that accrues from the sale of contraceptives, and the millions of them that are sold in this country each year, before considering further amendments that would triple and quadruple the sale of these items. Might I ask you, as a citizen representing so large a number of voters, the courtesy of an answer to this question from your committee before you make a decision. The statistics are easily obtainable. I have heard birth control advocates boast of them more than once. You will find that they run into the hundreds of millions.

Here is a fine avenue for profiteering. Any honest druggist will tell you that the percentage of profit is often two to three hundred per cent on these articles which are sold with as much subterfuge as any bootleg liquor. Why fool ourselves in this whole thing? This country needs a little old fashioned honesty. It needs a few laws that are laws. We do not need to amend weak-kneed legislation to make greater weakness.⁷

Under questioning Mrs. McGoldrick further testified that the principal of George Washington High had 13 teachers buy the articles and pamphlets referred to, as a matter of record, and had them filed with the Police Commissioner of New York City.

Colleges And Universities

Birth control propaganda has also left its mark on American colleges and universities. Birth control has been taught the students through special lectures. It has been brought to their attention through text books.

7. Senate Hearing, 1932, pp. 115-117

Mrs. Sanger, for instance, tells at some length in her *Autobiography* what an inviting audience of students Professor Norman E. Himes, sociologist of Colgate University, had in readiness for her when she came to speak at the institution. This is the same Dr. Himes who has been so closely identified with the birth control movement in this country. He has lectured and written extensively in this field. Just recently an ad for a book on sex sent to some newly-weds came to the writer's attention. It carried the notice that, with each copy purchased, a book of Dr. Himes' on birth control would be sent free. Incidentally, this same Dr. Himes today speaks learnedly of a "last-fling" psychology among students. Addressing the meeting of a Sociological Society at Asbury Park, New Jersey, April 27, 1942, he stated that sexual experimentation among college students is on the increase as a result of this so-called war time "last-fling" psychology. Students are living for today, he said, and both boys and girls feel they may not be married for a long time. As a result, colleges are facing an acute problem of sexual control.

So surprising!

Advocacy of birth control and sterilization by student groups, and resolutions by them to have both legalized are matters of record.

That such matters have played a large part in creating the well-known conditions of immorality among American students, there can be no question. A few years ago there was a veritable flood of articles in nationally known magazines describing and discussing this situation. The fact that birth control was linked with it was at times noted in the articles.

One of these articles, for instance, is found in

the *American Mercury* of June, 1938. The author of the article is a college girl who hides behind the term "co-ed." She assures the reader the students are aware that "getting caught" is relatively negligible with "the intelligent use of contraceptives." She refers to it as common knowledge, that at least seventy-five per cent of college girls have sacrificed their virginity. In general, the article is so foul, that, when this writer asked the publishers for permission to quote from it for the present volume, he was refused.

Of a condemnatory nature is an article in the *Forum* of September, 1937.⁸ The conditions are writer describes as existing at a large State school she had attended for five years, seem even more "shady" than those suggested by the former article in the *American Mercury*.

This situation among college students is not without influence on others. "Co-ed" refers to this fact. Indeed she states that it is "undeniable" whether their position is right or wrong.

The Armed Forces

Invariably war conditions lead to greater sexual license. But here too birth control enters in today and considerably aggravates matters. In her paper from which we quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Dr. Eleanor Glueck discusses this matter in an unusually balanced way. Her views well bear repetition here.

For example, she writes:

At no time has there been such extensive knowledge provided to men (most of whom are unmarried,) not only for reducing the danger of venereal infection but *indirectly for controlling*

8. Geraldine Courtney, "Immorality in Our Schools"

conception. Most army posts and naval ships and shore stations have prophylactic materials which they either sell at small cost or furnish free to personnel. While it should be stressed that Army and Navy authorities are not teaching contraceptive methods as such, nevertheless, indirectly, in connection with the program for preventing the spread of venereal infection some contraceptive information has to be given.

In general, because of the loosening of controls over the last 25 years, the situation today, according to Dr. Glueck, is even much more threatening than it was at the time of the last war. During the last war, she points out, the problem was much more confined in scope. The reason she gives for this is, "because at that time sex taboos were much stronger than they are now and the moral tone of family and community life was sturdier than it now is." She does not agree with those who simply dismiss the matter by saying that the present-day young folks are no worse than their forebears. In fact, she insists that "It would be ostrich-like indeed to avoid the fact that, because of the general weakening in family and community ties, with greater personal freedom, fewer inhibitions and taboos, a growing skepticism about the stability of marriage, young people are likely at this time of stress to submit more freely to their instinctual urges for attention and affection by satisfying the sex impulse now made reasonably safe from dire results of venereal disease infection and illicit parenthood through the added knowledge at their disposal which has been provided by the urgent need for controlling venereal infection among men in the encampments."

After brief reference to what might be broadly

termed commercialized vice in connection with this problem, Mrs. Glueck turns to the uncontaminated and morally upright youths.

But it is about the youth who has perhaps not before submitted to his sexual impulses, and the girl who despite the increasing temptation to sexual looseness engendered by the freer relations between the sexes, by weaker family ties, by overstimulation of the sex urge provided by suggestive movies, novels, excessive drinking, and many other factors, has kept her poise and not succumbed to temptation, for whom we must have the deepest concern.

Given the vast new knowledge for safeguarding themselves from infection and illicit parenthood together with war-time hysteria which throws inhibitions to the winds and even causes the adult community to excuse such transgressions more readily than it would in normal times, what, except a strong idealism and a desire to preserve the sanctity of family life, and great self-discipline is to prevent young people from succumbing to easy temptation? The opportunities for self-indulgence are legion and anonymity is provided by the automobile, the roadhouse, the tourist camp, the cheap hotel and rooming house.

Stories of illegitimacy are rapidly welling up mountain high. And how high the percentage of mere children among the mothers—girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age! Very apparently the contraceptive devices are actually far from infallible. Perhaps they are not even bothered with. For, as Father Martindale points out, besides the immediate mass effect of contraceptive practices, "they mean the end of anything like chivalry. . . .

"Me—worry about them things? Let the girl look after nerself. She knows how, don't she? If she

don't, let her go and ask. There's the clinic, ain't there? I don't worry about no girls." ⁹

Tomorrow's Children

And what of the generation that is to follow, namely, tomorrow's children? Dr. Glueck considered this too, since her address was made before a Conference on "Tomorrow's Children." Referring to a pessimistic attitude on the part of young folks, or the fact of a growing conviction on their part "that life is cruel, uncertain, insecure, puzzling" and to their view "why not live while we can?" she continues:

Let us recognize that unless we apply the breaks to the philosophy of despair which encourages youth to self-indulgence and to "escape" from reality, the well-being of "tomorrow's children" will be damaged beyond repair because *they will be reared to an even greater extent than the present generation, in an atmosphere of self-indulgence.* The deep psychological effects of this on a family already weakened by the stress and strain of the past quarter century can hardly be imagined. It seems to me that a breakdown in the integrity of the family would follow.

With rare good judgment Mrs. Glueck concludes:

Basically the need is for strengthening the moral climate of the times and for *re-weaving* into the fabric of community life a faith in the homely virtues. Unless we do so, we cannot hope to turn the rising tide of self-indulgence, nor to avoid the dangerous flotsam et jetsam that follows in its wake.

Religious leaders, teachers, parents, social workers, and all others who guide youth must pool their knowledge and resources toward find-

9. Martindale, *Contraceptives and Psychology*, The League of National Life, London.

ing solutions to the problem. *The very basis of family life is being threatened as never before and no effort is too great to direct toward saving it.*

How truly spoken! "The very basis of family life is threatened as never before." Twenty-five years of uncontrol have left the family in a pitiful condition. And how truly spoken again! "No effort is too great to direct toward saving it." Indeed, will even the greatest effort now suffice? Will all the leaders together, that Dr. Glueck mentions, find truly effective "solutions to the problem?" There is no little reason to be skeptical about it, all things considered. At any rate, it is vastly easier to tear down and destroy morally than it is to "reweave into the fabric of community life a faith in the homely virtues."

The Yank Abroad

Incidentally, the morals of the American armed forces are today being carried far and wide through the world. At least occasionally the truth leaks out that some of the peoples in parts of the world where the now ubiquitous Yank is located are none too well pleased with the morals that he has brought with him. In the movie, the British officer bluntly tells his fresh American friend who brazenly starts stealing his wife from him, "It's not done over here." In Australia, the situation that exists has brought bitter words of condemnation. A story to this effect was reported to the press by Jack Turcott.¹⁰ Sir Frank Beurepaire, the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, the story says, took his wife for a stroll over the week-end, only to be "disgusted" by what he saw. Said the Mayor: "What we saw Saturday and Sunday nights

10. See e.g. *The Times-Herald*, Washington, June 16, 1942

presents a very definite problem. This conduct which is offensive to decent-minded citizens must stop!"

The story adds that there were still uglier stories to tell:

It turned out that he hadn't seen all, however. Welfare workers, he said, had brought him reports that Spenser street, one of the most important down-town thoroughfares, was "full of soldiers and girls kissing in wrestling holds in the middle of the pavement—prolonged and unashamed." And every doorway for several blocks was filled with necking couples, the shocked agents added. Sir Frank was backed up by various civic and religious leaders who deplored such "shocking conduct."

One refers to such a matter with keenest regret, because there is here, as is usually the case in such matters, the other side of the picture. There are beyond any question in the armed forces of the United States, stationed both here and abroad, many of the finest, the most chivalrous and most respectable men the country has produced. And those men are second to none in any land.

But it is the other side of the picture first referred to—the side that shows "the very basis of our family life threatened as never before" that concerns us here. And it is a most lurid picture indeed. Some developments of our 25 years of uncontrol are almost incredible. We repeat, the nation has been on nothing less than a sex orgy. For example, a manuscript, that lately came to the writer's attention, spoke of the serious difficulties hotel managers have with plumbing because of the great number of condoms lodged there. It stated that many thousands of these devices are daily vomited from the mouth of city sewers. Furthermore, it stated that many

women nowadays carry birth control materials quite the same as they carry lipstick and powder. And the Government is supposedly worried over a rubber shortage!

Contributing to his general picture are many different factors. It is not necessary to recall all of them. The foulness of many American recreation places, for instance, are well known. The tremendous extent of commercialized vice is hardly less a secret. Reference to many excursion boats as "floating brothels" is far from an exaggeration unless the word of many excellent people is to be totally disregarded. And so one could continue on. And now on top of all there is the lessened control that flows from the war hysteria. Nor should it be forgotten, since we are speaking of youth—that youth, now as always, is naturally lacking in the critical sense. Where will it all end? What will the ultimate results be? They are truly terrifying to contemplate, particularly so in case the war should continue on for years. But already has birth control done much to ruin American youth. And to ruin the youth of a nation is to invite speedy ruin upon the nation itself.

Chapter IV

GETTING AROUND THE LAW

The story of American law in relation to birth control constitutes one of the weirdest chapters in the legal history of a country. It is an odd story of defiance of law, of disrespect for our government and for government officials, of nullification by judicial interpretation of the obvious meaning of a law that had stood for decades on the statute books, of high-handed and almost limitless evasion of the law through outright bootlegging, and through such simple expedients as calling birth control devices by other names and selling them for other presumed purposes.

The Comstock Law

As is well known by the student of the question, there has been on our statute books ever since 1873 a federal law, known as the Comstock law. This law prohibited the mailing of obscene matter within the United States, including the District of Columbia and the territories. It plainly classed the prevention of conception as obscenity. That was for years the obvious meaning and the consistent interpretation of the law. No exceptions were made. To indicate more specifically the content of the law, it barred from interstate commerce and from the mails "every article or thing designed . . . for preventing conception . . . every article . . . drug, medicine, or thing which is advertised . . . for preventing conception . . . and every written or printed card . . . circular, book, pamphlet, advertisement . . . giving information . . . where, or from whom" such articles may

be had "or how or by what means conception may be prevented."

This sane and constructive piece of social legislation had been accepted in its plain and obvious sense for decades. But it stood in the way of the birth controllers' program. It was a thorn in their flesh. They fumed against both its originator and the law, against both Comstock and "Comstockery." They were determined to get rid of it. The means they used towards this end make of their undertaking a strange story indeed.

It was Anthony Comstock who was mainly instrumental in framing and securing the passage of the Federal obscenity laws designed to keep from the mails all questionable matters. He was one of the members of the Committee for the Suppression of Vice, an organization created by the Y.M.C.A. at Comstock's own instigation. After the passage of the so-called Comstock law, Comstock became a special agent of the Post Office to help with its enforcement.

Particularly in view of the concern of the Y.M.C.A. over the promotion of the law, it is interesting to note here that one of the organizations that a few years ago was active in working for the repeal or change of the Comstock law was the Y.W.C.A.

Sanger vs. The Law

Little if anything was heard of the Comstock law in conjunction with birth control until 1914 when Margaret Sanger, self-appointed leader of the anti-baby brigade, began agitating for birth control and against the Comstock Act which stood in its way. The first organ she founded for this purpose

was a radical type of publication which bore the significant title, *The Woman Rebel*. It soon brought her into conflict with the law. It had not been published long when she was notified by postal authorities that it contained material that was in violation of the Comstock law, and was therefore unmailable. Her reaction was one of defiance. She deliberately continued to print and distribute the magazine. She tells in her *Autobiography* of going, night after night, "often until the early hours of the morning, with one or more co-workers" to the general post-office and dropping it, piece by piece, into the various letter boxes and chutes.¹

Indictments on nine different counts were eventually made against her. When informed one day that her case was to be tried the following morning, she skipped the country, crossing the border into Canada that same evening. She sailed to Europe from Montreal where she remained the greater part of two years. It was her first tilt with the law. She tells this story herself in some detail in both of her autobiographies.²

William Sanger

Apparently William Sanger, that is Mrs. Sanger's first husband, from whom she had separated at about the time our story starts, and from whom she later got a divorce before marrying one J. Noah H. Slee, was of somewhat the same stripe when it came to dealing with the law. Mrs. Sanger had written a booklet, entitled *Family Limitation*, containing the names and descriptions of devices used for contraception which she had obtained in France. Mr. Sanger gave a copy of this booklet to a Comstock

1. Sanger, M., *An Autobiography*, p. 86

2. *My Fight for Birth Control*, 1931; *An Autobiography*, 1938.

decoy and was subsequently hailed into court. When his case was up for trial Mr. Sanger frankly admitted he had violated the law. But, when the judge did his duty under the law, giving him the alternative sentence of \$150 fine or thirty days in jail, he retaliated by publicly hurling this insult at the judge: "I would rather be in jail with my self-respect than in your place without it."

"Sing Sing" Publications

That Mrs. Sanger could only expect trouble with the law because of her publications is quite apparent from what others thought of them. She tells of this herself. Speaking of the aforementioned pamphlet, she refers to a printer whom she had consulted regarding its publication. She says that when he had read the manuscript he turned deadly pale and remarked: "That can never be printed, Margaret. It's a Sing Sing job."³ She tried at least twenty printers, none of whom would do the job for her. Eventually she found one who "did the linotype work after hours when his shop was supposed to be closed so that there were no workers about to see him at his risky job." She adds: "After that, there was still the question of printing, binding, and storing, all of which was accomplished by individuals of five nationalities over a period of three months despite the careful watching of Uncle Sam."⁴ The "storing" was done in various sections of the country so all could be released at once, making the deliberate flouting of the law as effective as possible.

Writing in 1931, Mrs. Sanger said she was not at liberty to give the name of the individual who eventually printed the pamphlet in question, but

3. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 85.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

added that he "is now a prominent leader in politics in another country." Writing in 1938 she gave his name as Bill Shatoff, "Russian-born, big and burly, at that time a linotype operator on a foreign paper."

Mrs. Sanger continued her defiance of the law for some time. In fact, open and deliberate violation of the law was one of the chief tools she made use of during the first years of her work. Besides the instances already mentioned, she ran a clinic in violation of the law and had bootleg contraceptives brought into the country in violation of the law. She frankly admits this in her *Autobiography*.⁵ "In the beginning of the birth control movement," she writes, "the main purpose had been the mitigation of woman's suffering, Comstock law or no Comstock law. Its very genesis had been the conscious, deliberate, and public violation of a statute."

Hazel Benjamin, former librarian of one of the national birth control organizations, said much the same in an article in *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. She wrote, in the January, 1938, issue:

It is noteworthy that Mrs. Sanger did not set out to change the law by the slow process of education; she believed public interest would be more speedily secured by defying them . . . If woman must break the law to establish her right to voluntary motherhood, she said in 1917, then the law shall be broken.

This attitude, continued Miss Benjamin, "put the government in the unpleasant position of seeming to make a martyr of a woman who professed humanitarian motives. It was a quick and practically certain way to receive publicity and draw public at-

5. p. 417

tention to the subject. Both the Federal Government and that of New York, found it necessary to arrest her, and she made good use of the opportunities for dramatic action which these arrests afforded."

It did "secure publicity and draw public attention." Or, as Mrs. Sanger put it elsewhere, it did her "window-dressing, attracting attention and creating public discussion."⁶ And we know what that meant in turn. It went far toward bringing knowledge of the practice of uncontrol she advocated to every man, woman and child in America.

Perhaps even more dramatic, more notorious, was the hunger strike staged in jail by her sister, Ethel Byrne, who had been arrested with Mrs. Sanger.

Changing The Law

However, after some years Mrs. Sanger concluded that insofar as her own particular cause was concerned, her iconoclastic methods were not as successful as she had hoped they would be. As Hazel Benjamin put it, "Although spectacular methods might make good newspaper copy, the indignation with which her self-invited martyrdom had been greeted was not very widespread, nor had she rallied anything approaching nationwide support."⁷ Then too, the New York lawyer, Samuel Untermyer, had told her firmly, as she notes in her *Autobiography*, "You'll never get anywhere by violating it (the law)."⁸ Furthermore, even the organized birth controllers were giving her the cold shoulder. During her self-inflicted exile in Europe, a new "National Birth Control League" had been organized. Its of-

6. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 154

7. *Op. cit.*

8. *An Autobiography*, p. 184

ficers were Mrs. Ware Dennett, Mrs. Anita Block, and Mrs. Clara Stillman, "all well known in radical and liberal circles."⁹ Writing to the secretary, Mrs. Stillman, after her return to the United States, to ascertain her standing with this group, she was invited to attend an executive meeting the following week. At this meeting, Mrs. Dennett read the verdict of the League. It was in substance that, since the League was a law-abiding organization, it could not logically support a person who had violated the law.

There was nothing left for her to do but to shift her position. This she did. She began to work for a change in the law. First she aimed at out-right repeal of the Comstock law. This failing, she turned her efforts towards a so-called "doctor's only" law. Under the latter type of law, legally licensed physicians were to be exempted under certain sections of the Criminal Code (and later under Section 305A of the Tariff Act of 1930) so that they would not be restrained from disseminating birth control information and materials. Furthermore the bills proposed provided exemptions for legally chartered medical colleges, legally licensed hospitals and clinics and legitimate druggists. Such was the general content of a "doctor's only" law which appeared in 1924 in the *Birth Control Review*, a publication founded by Mrs. Sanger in 1917. It was also the first clear indication of her total abandonment of her earlier position of "repeal or nothing."

For years the organized birth controllers camped on the trail of legislators. For two years, beginning in 1917, the National Birth Control

9. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 124

League, of which Mrs. Dennett was the head, had centered its efforts in the New York legislature. But it had worked there without success. Hence in 1919 it transferred its work to Washington, fusing with the Voluntary Parenthood Control League which sought for the repeal of that part of the Comstock Law which defined contraceptive information as obscene, and as such, prevented its dissemination. No results followed.

Other organizations appeared on the scene. In 1921, the American Birth Control League was organized. Mrs. Sanger became its president. She retained the post until 1928, when she resigned, saying the organization was not sufficiently aggressive. Shortly afterward she formed a new organization, the specified purpose of which was to *amend* the Federal anti-birth control laws. This organization was known as the National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control. It was of this group that Hazel Benjamin was librarian from 1934 to 1937. In her article referred to, she wrote as follows regarding it:

As a first step, Mrs. Sanger built up an endorsing committee of one thousand which included such recognized social and professional leaders as Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow, Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont, Henry Pratt Fairchild, C. C. Little, Thomas Nixon Carver, Paul H. Douglas, William Fielding Ogburn, Rabbi Louis L. Mann, Leon J. Cole, Dr. William Allen Pussey, Mrs. Kellogg Fairbank, Theodore Curtis Abel, Mrs. Clark B. Millikan, Mrs. Kempor Campbell, and Miriam Van Waters."

Further on in the same article she stated:

The committee succeeded in having ten bills introduced into Congress. On the first five of

these, 1930-34, hearings were held, three in the Senate and two in the House. The hearings were considered an essential part of the educational campaign, and every effort to secure them was made. That they were not held on bills introduced in 1935 and 1936 may be attributed in part to the fact that the chairmen of the Judiciary Committees, to which the bills have been referred since the second one, were the same individuals as in 1934.

All ten of these attempts failed. Eight of the bills were never even reported out of committee. In the case of one of the remaining two it was simply recommended that it be sent to another committee. One was passed while a large number of laws were being jammed through the Senate during the closing days of a crowded session of Congress. This was apparently quite unintentional for it was recalled a few moments later, when a member of the Senate realized what had happened.

It is interesting to look through the hearings that were held and note the reasoned and dignified arguments of the opponents of the bills as contrasted with those of the proponents. One of the proponents, for instance, to make matters as impressive as possible, suggested that the normal number of children in a family is eighteen. Another suggested that the Senators on the Committee conducting the hearings were hypocrites. In fact, the clear implications of his words were that if the Senators did not use their influence to change the law, they were upholding a law which they were themselves violating. In spite of the constant harassing of members of Congress by workers of the Committee in Washington and by their constituents who were egged on in various ways by the organized

birth controllers, members of neither House nor Senate at any time developed much enthusiasm for the cause. Mrs. Sanger herself mentions this fact. It was claimed, however, that the proportion of uninformed and uninterested members grew from year to year, particularly among the younger men. Thus we read in the annual report of the Committee for 1934-35: "This is a far cry from 1930 when some of our representatives were forcibly rejected from Congressional offices because the subject was considered too indecent to discuss with a lady."

Nullifying The Law

The spirits of the lobbyists of the Committee must have been pretty low when, after ten attempts to put over their legislation, Congress remained adamant. But things were soon to take on a more rosy complexion for them. One Federal man, Mr. Justice Hand, dared to do what years of intensive lobbying could not get the Congress of the United States to do. On December 7, 1936, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, in a decision in the case of *U. S. vs. One Package*, dismissed a Federal suit which had been brought because contraceptive materials had been imported from Japan in January 1933. The package of materials involved had been sent to Doctor Hannah Stone, and was allegedly to be used for research purposes by the medical director of the Birth Control Research Bureau which had been founded in New York City in 1923. The view was expressed by the court that the Federal statutes relating to such materials "embraced only such articles as Congress would have denounced as immoral if it had understood all the conditions under which they were to be used. Its

design, in our opinion," it added, "was not to prevent the importation, sale, or carriage by mail of things which might intelligently be employed by conscientious and competent physicians for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well-being of their patients."

This decision practically made of the Federal law a "doctors only" law. Congress had refused to pass such a law. Yet, in the face of this fact, this Federal judge took it upon himself to foist such a law upon the country by interpreting the old law to that effect. Writes Miss Benjamin on this score, in the article already quoted:

Indeed the birth control lobby fared rather well in that the acceptance of the decision of the second Circuit Court of Appeals by the executive branch of the government permitted it to retire gracefully from the legislative field with banners still flying.

It is well to note that the language of the court in rendering its decision was very broad and "liberal." It read that the section of the Federal law on which the decision was based did not prevent physicians from prescribing contraceptives "for the purpose of saving life and of promoting the well-being of their patients." With that word "well-being" to fall back on physicians needed have little fear of conflict with the federal law.

Germany And Japan

It might also be recalled with interest now, that the package of birth control materials concerning which suit had been brought came from Japan. Indeed it might well be added for the record and for the uninformed, that the first materials to be brought to this country for birth control purposes

from abroad, came, at the instigation of Mrs. Sanger, from Germany. Both countries, Japan and Germany, proved far more favorable to birth control for the Americans than for their own.

Mrs. Sanger had found at Friedrichshafen, Germany, a contraceptive that was reportedly very effective. Some was brought to the United States. It proved too expensive, however; hence two of her co-workers, Drs. Hannah Stone and James Cooper, devised one of a different composition to be used instead. Diaphragms were also imported from Germany—needless to add, in violation of the law. Finally, a certain Julius Schmid, who had imported some diaphragms from his own concern in Germany, “fetched from the Fatherland several families who had been making molds there, gave them places to live in, and set up a little center, *expanding gradually until eventually he sold more contraceptive supplies than any firm in the world.*” Diaphragms were also bootlegged from England.¹⁰

Even foreign money was used to promote this destructive cause in the United States. Mrs. Sanger records that when she wished to start her clinic, or so-called Research Bureau, in 1923, and was unable to get the necessary funds for it from her wealthy supporters in the United States, she cabled an English friend for \$5,000. The money was immediately forthcoming.¹¹

Puerto Rico

Repeated vain attempts had been made for some years to have birth control recognized in Puerto Rico, a territory under the American flag.

10. *An Autobiography*, pp. 363-364.

11. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 314

Here, too, one man eventually opened the way. In January, 1939, a Federal judge acquitted six directors of the Puerto Rican Maternal and Child Health Association who had been indicted under the Comstock Act for disseminating contraceptive information. The judge stated that contraceptives may have a lawful use and that statutes prohibiting them must be read as prohibiting them only when they have an unlawful use. This decision opened the way for the operation of birth control clinics in Puerto Rico by the Insular Health Department under an Act passed in 1937 by the Insular Legislature.

State Laws

In the case of the States one finds a variety of laws regarding contraception. In 1938, 28 states had some kind of restrictive legislation. Since the Federal court decision of 1936, to the effect that the Federal statutes cannot be construed to prevent the importation of contraceptive articles for lawful use, emphasis has been placed on change of some of the state laws, or in obtaining liberal judicial decisions in the state courts similar to those of the Federal courts, rather than on efforts to change the Federal Laws. Whatever the status of the law, both birth control practices and birth control clinics have grown rapidly.

The New York state law was tested as early as 1916. A birth control clinic, established in the Brownville area in 1916, was raided and Mrs. Sanger and her sister, Ethel Byrne, were tried and sentenced to the work-house. The charge against them was that they had violated section 1142 of the Penal Code of the State of New York designed to prevent the dissemination of birth control information. Un-

der the New York law a licensed physician was allowed legally to prescribe contraceptives for the *cure or prevention of disease*. But neither of the two women involved in the case were physicians. Mrs. Sanger admits that she clearly violated the law.

Motherhood Becomes A Disease

When Mrs. Sanger opened a clinic in New York City in 1923, she put a physician in charge. After it had been operating for six years it was raided one day, following the selling of a contraceptive device to a police woman who had been sent there to secure evidence. At the ensuing trial the doctors from the clinic testified they had prescribed contraceptives for the purpose of avoidance of disease. The woman had indicated that she had three children, aged one, three, and five. Medical authorities testified that her chance for health would be greater if further conception were delayed. Morris Ernst, a lawyer who has often been heard of in conjunction with the legal activity of the birth control movement stated that "by this case the definition of disease was further enlarged. Infection and contagion," he added, "were not the sole frontiers of threats to good health." In reality, the decision practically identified motherhood with disease.

Over against this it is interesting to note the recent statement of Dr. Paul Popenoe. He writes:

Within any ordinary group, it is the woman with the largest family who lives longest, not the childless or unmarried woman. Pregnancy is a normal state and not to be feared but rather looked forward to.

It seems quite safe to say that many physicians have as a matter of fact been none too much con-

cerned about the legality of birth control. At any rate we have the following from the pen of a teacher of Wisconsin University, Helen Clarke, regarding them:

Formerly, many physicians gave surreptitious advice for *medical* reasons only; but they are gradually recognizing *social* and *economic* reasons and are supplying contraceptive information to *poor* as well as *sick*, in fact, to *any married person*. (Italics mine) ¹²

Moreover, one of the leading birth control proponents has curtly stated that it is not necessary to send out detectives to discover whether people who present themselves for information are married or not. Nor is it necessary to add the obvious, namely, that in the giant racket that is birth control many others besides physicians further birth control practices, and do so among unmarried quite as well as among married. As one writer recently put it in speaking of two states in which the dispensing of birth control information and means are forbidden: "Meanwhile the sale of contraceptives has shown no marked falling off in these two Northern States." ¹³ The American profit motive must be fed, come what may to America and its morality.

Massachusetts And Connecticut

The two northern states referred to are Massachusetts and Connecticut. Here the birth control proponents have not had such easy legal sailing as in most other parts. Recent activities there may well be noted. In both instances the laws there have been under fire by birth controllers, but without any very tangible results, at any rate to date.

12. Helen Clarke, *Social Legislation*

13. Robert L. Dickinson, M.D., in *Survey* Midmonthly, January, 1942

The Massachusetts law provides that any person is punishable for a felony if he sells, lends, gives away, exhibits, or offers to sell, lend or give away any drug, medicine, instrument, or article whatsoever for the prevention of conception. In 1938 a doctor, a nurse, and two social workers, who were operating a charitable clinic in Salem called the North Shore Mothers' Health Office were placed under arrest. These defendants claimed that the statute did not apply to drugs and other materials intended for contraceptive use which were prescribed by a duly qualified physician for preservation of life or health and according to generally accepted medical practices. The court, however, did not uphold their contention. Contrarily, it maintained that the wording of the law was plain and unequivocal and made no exception in the case of physicians. The United States Supreme Court refused to review this decision of the Massachusetts Court. The defendants were fined \$200 each. Nothing but a reversal of opinion of the Massachusetts Court or a change in the present statute can change the present situation which makes the distribution of contraceptives within the State illegal. An effort was made in 1942 to make legal the giving of birth control information, by means of a referendum ballot on an amendment to the state's 1877 birth control statute. The amendment sought to make an exception for physicians, permitting them to give information on contraception and to furnish contraceptive supplies to married people for health reasons. Although a special national group was organized to make a national issue of the matter, the attempt resulted in defeat.

The year after the arrest in the Massachusetts case, that is in 1939, a clinic at Waterbury, Connecticut, was closed under the state's anti-birth control bill of 1877. The clinic personnel, two doctors and a nurse, were arrested and all the clinics in the state were subsequently closed. The Law's constitutionality was upheld in 1940 by the Supreme Court of Errors. Only an act of the legislature can change it.

In March, 1941, a member of the Yale Medical School, Wilder Tilesen, applied to the New Haven County Superior Court for a declaratory judgment concerning his constitutional right to give birth control information to three of his patients, contending they might die if they became pregnant. The line of argument he offered was, that to deny the information to these patients was against both the state and federal constitution inasmuch as such action would abrogate the principle of liberty, security of persons, privileges, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and deprive a person of life "without due process of law." Reviewed by the State Supreme Court Dr. Tilesen's contention was rejected in June, 1942. By a 3-to-2 decision the court declared that it is *illegal for a physician to prescribe the use of contraceptives under any circumstances, thereby upholding the 63-year-old statutes making the practice of birth control a criminal offense. The state legislature had refused after long debate in 1941 to amend the statutes. This stand, the court contended, indicated beyond doubt, the intention of the legislature that the laws should apply as written.* Referring to Dr. Tilesen's request for a declaratory judgment on the part of the court as to

whether it is illegal for a licensed physician to prescribe the use of contraceptives in cases where pregnancy would endanger life and health, and if so, whether the law is constitutional, the majority opinion declared that *the legislature's refusal "to make any change, in the light of its opportunity to do so, impels us to the conclusion that not even in such situations as are presented in the instant case did the legislature wish to permit exceptions."*

The 1940 test of the law had been confined to the question of whether contraceptives might be prescribed when the physician believed the "general health" of a married woman required their use. The case submitted by Dr. Tileson was more definite and specific. But both were rejected.

How different this from the Judge Hand decision in the Federal case! There too, the people's representatives had clearly refused—in fact, had ten times refused to change the law. But a Federal judge presumed to do so by interpretation.

The Connecticut case had not been appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Birth Control Clinics

The past few years birth control organizations have been centering their activities increasingly in the establishment of clinics in various states, particularly in the South where there is still a considerable child population. We shall cite a case in the next chapter, that of North Carolina, to show how this was done.

The New York clinics established by Margaret Sanger in 1916 and 1923 have already been noted. Mention has just been made of some in two New England states. Since judicial decisions have given

new interpretations to sections of the Federal laws making it easy to secure materials legally clinics have increased in number. According to information given out March 17, 1942, by the Birth Control Federation of America, rechristened that year, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., there were in the United States and its territories and possessions 804 birth control clinics. Of these, 353 derived part or all of their financial support from tax funds. This means that citizens are taxed to help in this cause of self-destruction of a people, a cause that a former President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, aptly and correctly called "race suicide."

A "Directory" of these clinics was issued by the aforementioned organization for 1942. One or more clinics are listed for every state in the union except the following: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Nevada, and Wyoming. It might be noted in passing that among the clinics listed are a number that have been out of existence for from one to two years. Seemingly the promoters are more than anxious to make a showing.

Writing in 1940 regarding the clinics, Helen Clarke stated:

Studies show that a large per cent of the women who attend birth control clinics had *some knowledge* of and *use* of contraceptives prior to their visits. However, the number of pregnancies of women who attend clinics where they receive scientific advice is greatly reduced.¹⁴

A report and summary based on 202 birth control clinics functioning in 33 states and the District

14. *Social Legislation*, p. 176

of Columbia for the year 1939, by Drs. Robert L. Dickinson and Woodbridge E. Morris, of the Birth Control Federation of America appeared in the August, 1940, issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*. Among the chief disclosures of this report is the fact that the 46,582 women accepted as new patients during the year reported an average of less than three pregnancies, 2.64, prior to their coming to the centers for advice. Allowing for stillbirths, this figure is reduced to an average of 2.27. It is also noted that among the 69,170 former patients who returned to the centers for additional advice and treatment, only 1,130 reported they were then planning to have babies.

All in all, the law has fared none too well at the hands of the birth controllers. Furthermore, much has been done over and above the law. As a result, the destructive forces of uncontrol march on, leaving dreadful havoc in its path. Needless to add, those who have the good of their country at heart, note this with keenest regret. The total ultimate results it is quite impossible to forecast.

Chapter V

PUTTING IT OVER

Aside from the law, a field to which attention has already been drawn, what methods were used in foisting this positively destructive practice, this dehumanizing and uncivilizing program of uncontrol upon a great and civilized people? How was it "put over?" For the sake of the record it will be well to jot down at least some of the methods used. And it will be a relatively simple task to do. One needs do little more than consult the writings of the birth controllers themselves. They have left plenty sources of information readily available.

But before descending to any details let us glance at the following overall picture briefly painted by Dr. Paul Popenoe. Declaring that our machine age disregards most of the needs of children, and is therefore unfavorable to children, he goes on to say:

These very real difficulties have been intensified by an emotional propaganda, much of which was associated with the earlier years of the birth-control movement. For well over a quarter century, America was assailed with a propaganda painting the evils of large families, the dangers of child-bearing, the misfortunes of the "unwanted child." (without taking much trouble to inquire why he was unwanted.) ¹

And again in the same strain:

From a good deal of modern discussion one would think that children were a misfortune; that the smallest possible number was a desirable number; that each additional child was for the mother a step toward the grave, for the

1. *Modern Marriage*, p. 248

father a step toward bankruptcy, and for both a step toward misery.

The "propaganda" was carried on through many different instruments or channels—through the press, the lecture platform, organizations, polls, letters, exhibits, and more recently, also in some measure, through the radio.

Birds Of Mrs. Sanger's Feather

Mrs. Sanger, the archpriestess of the movement, has herself appealed to groups of most variegated stripes in carrying on her own activities. Among the very first of these were "the 'up and doing' progressive women who then called themselves Feminists." But she got little consolation from them, and apparently still less backing, at any rate in the early days of the birth control movement. "You can't do a thing about it until we get the vote," they continuously told her.² Incidentally, the situation reminds one forcefully of the statement of the great American philosopher and convert, Orestes A. Brownson, written fully three quarters of a century ago. "The ultimate purpose of the Feminist movement," he wrote in substance, "is the shirking of motherhood."

Some years later, however, as we shall see, Mrs. Sanger again appealed to women, and with far more success, so far as the cause she advocated was concerned. But meanwhile she had turned elsewhere—to radicals of various hues. Deploring her inability to win the Feminists of the time to her colors, she said that "only the boys of the I.W.W. seemed to grasp the economic significance of this great social question."³

2. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 57

3. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 61

It was in this connection, too, that she wrote that notices of *The Woman Rebel* were sent to *The Masses*, *Mother Earth*, *The Call*, *The Arm and Hammer*, *The Liberator*, "all names echoing the spirit which had quickened them."⁴

In earlier pages of her volume, *An Autobiography*, the reader met some of her friends of this caliber when she was trying to have her "Sing Sing job" done. But there were others. For example, when she was arrested for conducting a birth control clinic in New York, the press drew attention to the fact that she was supported by such characters as Emma Goldman, later deported to Russia by the American Government, Ben Reitman, and Rose Pastor Stokes. Again, literature emanating from the Communist Unit of Teachers College, New York, stated that she had acted as guide on sight-seeing trips for the unit.⁵

On her trip to Russia Mrs. Sanger was accompanied by Mrs. Ethel Clyde, who had contributed to "sundry leftist causes and birth control."⁶

Mrs. Sanger also contacted radical types abroad. Thus, speaking of a so-called "baby strike" of German women after the World War, she stated that the former medical chief of the Communists told her the women of Bavaria were determined to stop having babies, and that he himself had given information to thousands and had intended to establish clinics all over the state had the Communist Republic remained in power.⁷

Intellectual radicals were likewise contacted by her. She mentions, for instance, such "splendid and

4. *An Autobiography*, p. 109

5. *Catechism of Birth Control*, Our Sunday Visitor Press, p. 24

6. *An Autobiography*, p. 433

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 288

courageous figures" as Havelock Ellis, Edward Carpenter, and Olive Shreiner.

Mrs. Sanger herself suggests the background for the foregoing when she points out that her father was the first socialist in his community, and a follower of Henry George. About herself she writes:

"My own personal feelings drew me towards the individualist, anarchist philosophy."⁸

This is the woman who later we find catering to the women of wealth, marrying a "pillar of finance," and writing about flitting back and forth between London and the Riviera.

Some insight is given into her character and views by noting her attitude towards the Government. It was not unlike her attitude towards the observance of the law to which reference has already been made. It really seems odd to hear birth controllers argue their cause, as they so often do today, in the name of democracy, if the democratic government of the United States is deserving of no more respect than their leader had for it. The following are some of the things which her own pen wrote about the government or its officials.

Speaking critically of the Congress of the United States, she stated:

*"You wondered whether those who had already abandoned hope of obtaining relief in this way and resorted to direct action had not, perhaps, the right idea."*⁹

Again she wrote: "Let us put the United States of America upon the map of the civilized world."¹⁰

And again, after the court decision on the Com-

8. Op. cit., p. 75

9. Op. cit., p. 423

10. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 134

stock law in 1936: "It is really a relief to be able to say something good about the Government."¹¹

In mentioning the failure of the American Consul in Japan to answer two messages she had sent him, after Tokio had refused her admission to the country, she referred to him as "that silent, unhelpful, fearful, ungracious, representative of our democracy."¹²

But perhaps the following statement, made publicly by her to the members of an international meeting in New York, largely engineered by her, takes the cake:

To the delegates from all foreign countries, I wish to apologize—if I may do so without any disrespect—for the obstacles you have had to meet, the obstructions placed in your way by some of the rules and regulations of our American government.

While the United States shuts her gate to foreigners, and is less hospitable than other countries in welcoming visitors, no attempt whatever is made to discourage the rapid multiplication of undesirable aliens, *and natives*, within our own borders. On the contrary, the government of the United States deliberately encourages and even makes necessary by its law the breeding, with breakneck rapidity, of idiots, defectives, diseased, feeble-minded, and criminal classes.¹³

To cite just one more example:

Referring to her open violation of the law in distributing copies of *The Woman Rebel* through the mail, by dropping them in many different boxes and chutes, she stated: "I felt the Government was

11. *An Autobiography*, p. 428

12. *My Fight for Birth Control*, pp. 243-44.

13. *Op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.

absurd and tyrannical to make us do this for no good purpose. I could not get used to its methods then. I have not yet, and probably never will.¹⁴

We wouldn't be surprised. At any rate, it is practically repeating what she stated before, namely, that she was inclined toward the individualist and anarchist philosophy. Hazel Benjamin notes the same: "Ever the individualist, conscious of hampering tendencies, of boards, resentful of their efforts to dictate her policies, and impatient with the red tape involved in working with them, she resigned her presidency of the organization (American Birth Control League)." Nor are we much surprised that an individual so restive under the restraint of human law and order also is inclined to kick over the traces where the divine law is concerned.

It was after Mrs. Sanger quit her defiance of the law and centered her efforts in changing it that she turned from her poorer socialist friends to women of means and standing. She felt they could give more effective help to her. Hazel Benjamin quotes her as follows in the article already referred to:

The answer was to make the club women of wealth and intelligence use their power and money and influence to obtain freedom and knowledge for the women of the poor. These laws must be changed. The women of leisure must listen. The women of wealth must give. The women of influence must protest.

It was at this time too that she turned more to the printed word, the lecture platform, and the like, in order to "educate" the public and foster her "cause."

14. *An Autobiography*, Introduction, p. 111

Publications And The Press

A variety of new publications put in their appearance. In 1917 Mrs. Sanger started the *Birth Control Review*. This was, from 1917 to 1921, she states, "the spearhead in the educational stage."¹⁵ She continued to edit it until 1928, when she broke with the American Birth Control League. After forming the National Committee on Legislation shortly after this break, she for a time made use of a series of *Newsletters* in her work. This continued from 1929 to 1935. The *National Birth Control News*, a monthly, was started in 1936. Still other periodicals have come on the scene, the *Journal of Contraception*, now called *Human Fertility*—and a *Bulletin* or *News Letter* of the Birth Control Federation of America—now called the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Through various other printed media did the birth controllers carry their destructive doctrines to the public. Hazel Benjamin calls attention to the fact that a study of magazine and newspaper indexes, covering the years from 1914 to 1931 showed a constant increase in the number of articles listed and an opinion that was predominantly favorable. She adds that the number of entries in the *New York Times* index alone had reached ninety-two for the year 1935. During that year too the first salaried professional publicity expert was engaged and releases began going out systematically from headquarters, while local workers were urged to make use of the press to bring their activities to the attention of the public.¹⁶ The 1940 Annual Report of the

15. *An Autobiography*, p. 252.

16. *Op. Cit.*

Birth Control Federation of America, for instance, states:

In the press of the nation approximately 9,000 birth control items appeared, totaling more than 2,500 standard newspaper columns. Approximately 2,044 newspaper items dealt with activities of the Federation itself. In the field of magazines, twenty-five articles on birth control appeared in National magazines, among them *Life*, *Time*, *Harpers*, *Newsweek*, *Cosmopolitan*, the *Forum*, and others, representing a total circulation of over 4,000,000.

Great amounts of leaflet and pamphlet material were also made available and broadcasted extensively. It is claimed, for instance, that in 1936, 164,750 individual pieces were distributed. In the "Budget Needs" of the Federation for 1942 there is the item, \$40,570.90 for Public Information. Even such a tried old publication as the *Woman's Home Companion* has served as a medium for bringing this doctrine of uncontrol into American homes. And now apparently the *Journal* of the American Medical Association is increasingly to carry articles on the subject for its readers. The issue of March 28, 1942, for instance, carried an article by G. W. Beebe and J. Overton describing the "Contraceptive Service Department of Health, City of Nashville." The Quarterly Cumulative Index Medicus published by the A.M.A. for the quarter, January—March, 1942, lists 15 references to contraception. The most recent offender has been *The Parents' Magazine*.

Furthermore many local birth control units print literature of their own. The same is true of firms selling contraceptives. The Holland-Rantos Company, for example, has a press clipping service and sends out a "Birth Control News" publication

monthly, except in summer. Apparently it is more an ad or "front" than anything else, since many of the news items are not about birth control at all. Incidentally, this particular company was formed by two young men who had worked with Mrs. Sanger.

One of the earliest propaganda leaflets used might be inserted here for the record. It read:

MOTHERS

Can you afford to have a large family?

Do you want any more children?

If not, why do you have them?

Do not kill, do not take life, but prevent

Safe, Harmless Information can be obtained
of trained nurses at

46 Amboy Street

Near Pitkin Avenue—Brooklyn

Tell Your Friends and Neighbors. All
Mothers Welcome.

A registration fee of 10 cents entitles any
mother to this information.

These leaflets, Mrs. Sanger writes, "we poked into letter boxes, house after house, day after day, upstairs, downstairs, all over the place."¹⁷ Apparently she was fearful, however, that some might still escape this, for she tells of accosting a woman in the street and inviting her to the clinic. It is noteworthy that the notion of health was in no way brought into this leaflet.

At birth control conference meetings there is usually a flood of literature of the commercial ad type, some of it very plainly worded, some of it hiding at least somewhat behind such expressions as "Confidential Talk to Women," "For Feminine Hygiene," "Marriage Hygiene," "For Physicians Only!" "Strictly Confidential."

17. *An Autobiography*, p. 216

In the fall of 1942 a hand full of fliers by a Mothers' Health Association in the nation's capital came to the writer's attention. These stated that the purpose of its Birth Control Clinic was "to receive married women for advice and instruction in family planning and child spacing, according to consideration of health and economic situation." Clinical hours for white and colored were noted.

Manuals On "Technique"

Special cheap manuals on birth control practices or techniques have been published. Apparently the latest of these is the one coming from Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, for some years a Vice-President of the Birth Control Federation of America, and Dr. Woodbridge E. Morris, General Medical Director of the Federation. It contains 50 illustrations and explains in detail the various methods used, even down to sterilization for permanent infertility. These manuals are gotten to people in various ways. One way, for instance, has been to write to directresses of nurses and to offer them copies for distribution to those under their charge.

Public Information, 1942

In the National Program for 1942 of organized birth control we read, under "Public Information," that "the Federation will continue to make use of such media as newspapers, magazine articles, direct mail, exhibits and radio broadcasting and it plans production of a moving picture for lay audiences." The use of exhibits and radio broadcasting has been growing. Even the American Medical Association had exhibits at its last (1942) annual meeting. One might wonder whether the contemplated moving

picture for lay audiences will be quite as plain as the pictures and graphs that are used in the birth control literature or of the moving pictures already in use for commercial purposes. One of the latter was recently shown in conjunction with the meeting of a national population organization held at one of the oldest and most outstanding universities of the United States.

Polls

The fad for "polls" has subsided somewhat. Some of their weaknesses became very apparent in the last presidential elections, if not before. However, the following item in one birth control poll is set down for what it may be worth. In answer to a question in the poll which reads: "What is the ideal size of a family?" 64% voted in favor of a two or three child family (the vote was evenly divided between the two figures). It should be observed that neither a two-child nor a three-child family is large enough to insure a nation even a permanently stable population.

Words And Laughter

One of the methods rather consistently used by Mrs. Sanger, and other birth controllers for that matter, is the substitution of words for arguments. Time and again, for example, she uses the term "conscript mothers" in referring to mothers of large families. That is, of course, no less than an insult to the very mothers who have done their duty before God and to the State. It is the sons of these "conscript mothers" who have now been "conscripted" in a desperate effort to save the nation, and apparently, world civilization. And it is her doctrine that accounts for the fact that there are so many non-

conscript mothers who have no sons to be conscripted for this cause.

Again we see this childish method used in an effort to avoid being put in an unfavorable light by rebuffs given her when she tried to teach her doctrines of uncontrol in other countries. When, for instance, at a meeting in Germany which she was attending, a German woman objected to birth control, her objection, according to Mrs. Sanger, was "bellowed." Similarly, in a meeting in Russia at which she broached the subject, a protesting official "shrieked" his disapproval, and again, he "shouted" it.

But it was when she came to venting her spleen against the Catholic Church that Mrs. Sanger puts forth her best efforts at emitting tasty words. And that happened more than once. Repeatedly she has shown how violently she has hated this institution which she left in her childhood days, and which dares to teach things that run counter to her individualist and iconoclast whims and wishes. For example, in writing about the "Hearings" held on one of the birth control bills, she referred to the Church as an organization that had "obstructed every effort of human emancipation, every step toward the stars."¹⁸

Even cheaper than mere words is the argument of ridicule, the provoking of laughter, that has at times been used by the birth controllers. We shall give an example of this later. Apparently it was actually used with a feeling that a point had been made in their favor when they had recourse to it.

Correspondence

Direct mail has also been used as a means of

18. *My Fight for Birth Control*, pp. 352

propaganda. This was given considerable emphasis, for instance, during the campaign against the Federal Law. Women "back home" were advised by mail to write letters to their Congressmen, urging them to back the proposed birth control legislation. They were even sent an envelope, stamped and addressed to their respective Congressmen. An American foundation donated ten thousand dollars for this specific purpose.¹⁹

Political Pressure

But pressure was also brought to bear on congressmen in other ways. The National Committee's field workers egged on their constituents. Writes Hazel Benjamin:

The chief function of the National Committee's field workers was the organization of pressure groups, especially in the districts of Congressmen whose votes were most desirable. The result was a group of about 900 state, district, county, and local chairmen and workers. The chairmen were responsible for stimulating local support and activities, for having letters and telegrams sent to their representatives in Congress upon request from Washington headquarters and for arranging that Congressmen be interviewed while at home, especially in election years.²⁰

More recently too have the birth controllers been deep "in politics." For instance, in surveys made in States by the Birth Control Federation in 1941 the political situation, and its bearing on birth control, came in for definite attention.

Here are a few samples found under the caption "Political Situation" in these survey records:

Florida: In a confidential interview some

19. *An Autobiography*, p. 422

20. *Op. cit.*

time ago with the present Governor's wife, before he was elected to office, Mrs. Holland informed Mrs. Trent that both she and her husband, Spessard L. Holland, believed in birth control and would support it if he were elected to public office.

Strong political groups in the state are the American Legion, the Federated Women's Clubs and the Farm Bureau Federation. The American Legion has, probably, the greatest influence on the Governor . . .

Kentucky: The present Governor of the State, Keen Johnson . . . is described as a 'do nothing' and would not favor anything that might raise even a mild fuss. Politically the state is highly conservative and not likely to support any such progressive movement, as birth control, without a long period of educational effort.

West Virginia: " . . . Governor Neely is interested in the birth control program, but made no definite commitment during a phone conference with Dr. Point other than that he would not oppose the program. Key political leaders such as Arthur B. Koontz of Charleston, a prominent attorney and influential in Democratic politics and Dr. Grover Robertson, newly-appointed members of the State Board of Control, are interested and have promised their support of the program. Both are close to the Governor . . . The Governor, it is reported, will follow any course favored by the President or Mrs. Roosevelt.

Tennessee: The political situation in the State makes the case for birth control in public health very complicated. The Governor is not a ruling factor in the public health set-up because though he appoints the Commissioner and the public health council, it is actually the medical society which virtually dictates the above ap-

pointments and governs the policies of the health department.

Mississippi: The Governor would be potentially favorable toward the inclusion of a birth control program in the Public Health Department according to an interview with his secretary. Mrs. D. C. Lee and Dr. Underwood would be the chief avenues of contact to the Governor.

Virginia: The political situation in the State, according to the League, has no direct bearing on the program. The present Governor (James H. Price) does not exercise wide influence and does not influence State departments in the conduct of their programs to any great extent.

The Federation of Women's Clubs and the Parent-Teachers Association wield considerable political power. The influence of these groups has been brought to bear on a few local health departments only, and could be used to great effect in other situations.

But the field workers of organized birth control did more than make surveys or use pressure on Congressmen. To quote Hazel Benjamin once more:

In addition to propaganda methods already mentioned, personal contact with community leaders and members over an extensive area was secured by field workers, beginning in 1931. Between 1934 and 1936 forty workers visited 600 towns and covered approximately 1,000 meetings. The committee records show the value of such work in increased local activity and increased response to requests from headquarters for assistance.

Through these workers, and through lectures and meetings, the number of individuals who expressed their approval of the work of the committee increased steadily. In 1930 there

were 3,000 endorsers; in 1936 there were 52,464.

The Clinic Comes To North Carolina

To get at least a glimpse at some of the methods used locally in "putting over" birth control, the example of North Carolina can well be taken. This state can boast today the greatest number of clinics of any of the states in the Union, with but one exception, New York. The methods used in foisting them upon the people of the state are described in considerable detail, and with no little manifestation of glee, by Don Wharton in an article appearing in a nationally-known magazine.²¹ The facts that we adduce in the following are all from this source.

The first difficulty encountered in establishing the clinics in the state was a want of funds. No State law stood in the way, and the interpretation given the Federal law in 1936 had removed serious objection from that quarter. But when Dr. George M. Cooper, director of preventive medicine of the State Board of Health, wanted to get a clinic program under way in 1937, he knew, as Wharton put it, "the futility of taking a contraceptive promotion program before a state legislature." However, a way out was found. A nurse with whom Cooper was acquainted, and who was "in charge of an experimental program, giving birth control information to the natives of a densely-populated little island of Boca Grande, off the Florida Everglades," induced Dr. Clarence J. Gamble, an heir to the Proctor and Gamble soap fortune, to donate funds for a trial program. Dr. Gamble offered funds for a three-month program. Dr. Cooper induced him to give \$2,250,

21. "Birth Control: The Case for the State," *The Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1939

so a year's program would be possible. Gamble not only agreed to this but later advanced money to continue the program further. The final upshot was that North Carolina had the first state health Department in the United States to engage in such a program, has today in public health quarters by far the largest number of birth control clinics of any state, and, as we have pointed out, is second only to one state, New York, in the total number of birth control clinics.

How was this program "put over?" Very judiciously. It is emphasized that much caution was used, that it was done "quietly and without ballyhoo." For example, only after the work was under way for almost a year, was any official public mention of the contraceptive program made. In fact, it was under way for eight months, and clinics had already been established in "most of the strategic counties," before Dr. Cooper even sent out a general letter telling county health officers there was a program. Again, opposition was consistently avoided. He did not "let the enemy come to grips with him." If opposition raised its head in one county he withdrew temporarily. Particularly was effort made to prevent public controversy. "County health officers were asked to get the opinions of local physicians individually rather than at meetings, which might lead to unmanageable debates."

The following are a few items in this project deserving of special notice:

A county health officer who did not feel that his county needed contraception, it is pointed out, was told to check his vital statistics. "When he discovered that the negroes were accounting for 85

per cent of the births," writes Wharton, "he quickly changed his mind." An entirely legitimate inference here is that sociologists need no longer search for a sure solution for the "Negro Problem."

"In one county where there is a homestead project, the contraceptive clinic actually has the financial support of the Federal Government." ²²

In one county Dr. Cooper found a health officer "of ancient vintage who condemned birth control as a sin . . . In eighteen months the county had a new health officer and Dr. Cooper had an extra clinic spotted on his map without having risked his whole war on a minor skirmish."

Significant, too, is what Wharton says of the "by-products" of the program. Thus, he points out that private doctors also began recommending birth control to their patients, and that two of the largest manufacturing plants in the state set up birth control clinics of their own. Regarding the latter, he adds: "One of the plants has placed printed slips in payroll envelopes telling employees that the firm's physicians and nurses may be consulted. All this has been done quietly to prevent the possibility of a boycott, but as word seeps out over the state other mills may follow suit."

Certainly Wharton makes it unescapably clear that the North Carolina program was decidedly and fundamentally anti-baby. Of the entire first mass of women who came to the clinic he wrote: "*To each*

22. That Federal Funds were in any way used for birth control purposes was denied to the author by Will Alexander, at the time Director of the Farm Security Administration, under whose jurisdiction the homestead projects were administered.

one (italics mine) of these 2,500 women a pregnancy would be actually, or nearly, a tragedy."

But the birth controllers by no means remained content with their efforts in North Carolina. There are still children in other parts of the South. Hence these parts must be rendered sterile too. Their 1942 program, for example, called for the following in the South:

To complete the Public Health programs initiated in Florida, Virginia, West Virginia, Colorado, and Texas . . .

To initiate comparable programs in Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Kentucky, California, and Arizona.

The South has again been invaded; this time by an army that strikes directly at its most vital spot, its homes.

Certainly the foregoing should make it understandable why the term "birth control" has become a by-word, not with the "sick and poor" as some unctiously put it, but with every man, woman, and child in America. It should also make it understandable why the theory and practice of uncontrol has spread far and wide like wildfire, bringing dreadful results to the country and threatening it with ever greater and more direful consequences.

Chapter VI

STRATEGY—MOSTLY BACKDOOR

The reader's attention has already been directed toward some of the methods of professional birth controllers have made use of in promoting their "cause." Mention was made of their work through such channels as the press and platform, polls and politics, organizations and schools. In some detail, too, were their efforts in the field of legislation described. But there are still other methods, and at least some of them distinctly bear the earmarks of backdoor strategy. We wish to direct attention to some of them before proceeding to other considerations.

The Case Of Holland

Birth controllers in America for some years past referred time and again to Holland, citing the Netherlands country as a kind of haven for birth control, and giving the impression to the public that the Government authorized the practice. Mrs. Sanger particularly made frequent references to Holland. For instance, she wrote the following in one of her volumes: "The results of my visit to Holland were to change the course of the birth control movement, not only in America but in England and Europe as well."¹

Inquiry into the actual situation, however, brought quite a different version of the story. In fact, information obtained through an investigation by Dr. J. Van der Heyden, Louvain Correspondent for the NC News Service, disproved the statements

1. My Fight for Birth Control, p. 102

that Holland either favored or tolerated birth control.²

In a letter to the National Council of Catholic Women, from the president of the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, Madame F. Steenbergh-Engeringh, who is a resident of Holland, the following reference was made to the subject:

You also tell me that the promoters of birth control pretend that in the Netherlands that Government upholds birth control and that we have many clinics for the propagation of anti-conception methods. Through us you ask that I inform you on this subject and I hasten to assure you that it is absolutely false; on the contrary, our Minister of Justice Donner has refused again and again (the last time on June 15, 1927) to give official approbation to the Neo-Malthusian League on the grounds that it is spreading a doctrine harmful to the well-being of the nation and contrary to good morals, such official approbation being necessary for recognition under the law of the Netherlands.

Madame Steenbergh-Engeringh then quoted from the Penal Code of the Netherlands, showing that the Government punishes those who teach what she calls "anti-conception methods."

Spiker Fairchild

Pratt Fairchild, on the occasion of the so-called American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery held in Washington in 1934, suggested among other things that birth control clinics direct some of their activities towards counteracting sterility. He added the high-minded motive that was behind this suggestion. "In doing so," he said, "we

2. A statement on "Birth Control in Holland" by Dr. Van der Heyden, was published in booklet form at the time by the National Council of Catholic Women.

would spike the guns of our opponents." As a matter of fact, the "1942 Directory of Planned Parenthood Services" published at the National Office of the birth controllers, lists, besides the birth control clinics, a number of "sterility clinics."

We Deny

On the occasion of the annual 1942 meeting of the birth controllers, the writer commented in the press on some of the statements that had been made by speakers. In what was apparently supposed to be a reply to him, appearing in the *Newsletter* of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, the editor quoted for his good a few lines from the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI on *Christian Marriage*. Of course, we were very grateful for this information. We need it so much, considering that we have for more than a decade been engaged in directing a national body whose prime activity consists in disseminating and making known the principles of Christian Marriage, "particularly as set forth in the encyclical of Pius XI on Christian Marriage." Uneasy indeed, we fear, must lie the head that has no arguments upon which to base his contentions, and who must therefore constantly be looking for loopholes through which to squirm as an ever-mounting tide of difficulties engulf him.

Incidentally, the same story also stated that this author, writing in the *Catholic Register*, had declared that "an American is 'incapable of distinguishing between social activities in the field of health and such foul artifices as are implied in the term birth control.'" Of course he neither said, nor would even think of saying any such thing. The record clearly shows what he did say. And what

it shows is exactly the contrary of what the editor of the *Newsletter* asserts.

The TIMES And The TABLET

The *New York Times*, which incidentally had some time before carried a large paid ad on birth control, did some reporting in conjunction with the 1942 annual birth control meeting that drew fire from the editor of *The Tablet* of Brooklyn.³ *The Tablet* editorial at the same time hit some of the backdoor strategy used by speakers. It may be advantageously quoted here in full:

Mr. Ernst was indulging in the usual backdoor strategy of the advocates of race suicide. Under the guise of a program of race betterment, public health and interest in child and maternal mortality, the "prevention of human waste and the raising of the national standard of living" the birth controllers are grinding their old axe of harnessing the power of the Federal Government to the program of artificial birth control.

Referring to "Wednesday's New York Times" report of the meeting the editor goes on to say:

The Times item quotes Mr. Ernst as saying that: "The only difference between the Federation and the Catholic Church is that their (the Church's) method doesn't work." The item also referred to another speaker who slipped a few sentences from a statement by Msgr. Keegan, of the New York Archdiocese Catholic Charities, to give the impression that there existed an identity of purpose between the federation and the work of the Catholic Church. Further Mr. Ernst was quoted as telling the members that a division existed in the Catholic Church and urging that: "instead of a direct at-

3. January 31, 1942

tack on the Church your attack should be in widening that division."

Behind Morris Ernst's plea is to be recognized a technique of "confuse, divide, play one side against the other" and out of the confusion capitalize for the main objective. Together with this technique is that of disarming the opposition by pretending to *identify* the cause with that of the opposition.

This is the method that fostered the "Friends of Spanish Democracy," "The Abraham Lincoln Brigade" and similar discredited communistic efforts. Finally, the technique is expanded by forcing as far as possible, the program advocated under cover of some benign Federal agency where it can be controlled by its proponents in key positions.

To those who are awake to the backdoor strategy of the birth control group, the true nature of the information in "The Times" item is apparent. The attempted subtlety of quoting Msgr. Keegan, to the knowing, is obvious. But in justice and fairness to its readers, "The Times" should have given the background of Monsignor Keegan's statement or indicated the context. It should have outlined the aims of the "Planned Parenthood" group. Those omissions of "The Times" lay that newspaper open to the full implication of sympathy with the technique of the speakers. The impression of biased and unfriendly reporting in this item, is made strongly upon the alert Catholic reader. It is not the kind of impression that is to be expected of such a representative newspaper. Proper correction of this impression should be made by "The Times" at once.

Has THE CHURCHMAN Turned MENACE?

In its issue of December 1, 1941, the *Catholic News* of New York called attention to the fact that the Birth Control Federation of America was

distributing a series of editorial attacks made on the Catholic Church by *The Churchman*, "An independent journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church," in which Catholic opposition to the birth control movement was bitterly criticized.

Among other things, the editor of *The Churchman*, Guy Emory Shieler, Jr., had stated in the editorials the following:

The hierarchy of the Roman Church is again playing its old game of intimidation, boycott, and pressure against social philosophers of which it does not happen to approve. Birth control has always been one of its chief hates, and lately the pressure against the movement to provide life-saving information to overburdened women has been on the increase.

As the *Catholic News* pointed out, the editorials in substance denied Catholics the right to oppose legislation favorable to birth control. *The Churchman* called the Church's opposition "flagrant attempts to force its doctrines on non-Catholics." If that argument were admitted, as the *Catholic News* points out, "no proposed legislation in violation of the doctrines of any denomination could be opposed by members of that denomination, because it would be 'an attempt to force its doctrines on non-members.' The truth is, of course, that any loyal citizen is concerned with what his government approves and will in conscience throw his weight against anything he is convinced is not for the country's good."

To the point here is a statement in *The Christian Democrat* of London that well bears repetition. It applies to other countries as well as to England.

No Christian citizen can be indifferent to any course of public administration which would set up a false standard of morality . . .

However well-meaning the philanthropist, if his efforts are calculated to do more harm than good, they must be checked at no matter what cost to his personal feelings. We need not impugn his good will, but evil can be wrought by want of head as well as want of heart.

Birth control, a comfortable doctrine of the present generation, is a case in point. It is certainly a relief not to have to bother about children nor to have to pinch in order to clothe and educate them. But on a longer view it is a policy which sooner or later will have to be retracted, unless we are to become a C3 nation morally as well as physically. Physically we are committing ourselves to living on our capital, and the end is not difficult to foresee. And what of the moral argument? . . .⁴

Sub Rosa

The mails are used considerably for sending more or less confidential information or tip-offs to birth control organization members. Preceding the 1942 annual meeting of the Birth Control Federation of American for instance, Mrs. Sanger sent out to a number of followers, under her signature a letter informing them of scheduled broadcasts by the Columbia system and the National Broadcasting Company. The letter contained this note: "We hardly need remind you these great channels of radio education have heretofore been closed to us because of fear that a more liberal policy would bring floods of protest from Roman Catholics."

Misleading statements are at times given the press by professional birth controllers. Some of these may be due to ignorance. But others bear all the earmarks of planned propaganda based on knowledge. When they are due to ignorance, the

4. "Birth Control and Christian Teaching," in *The Christian Democrat*, London, June, 1926

salutary advice should be in place that ignorant people should not presume to speak on serious social questions.

An example of such a misleading statement—in fact, a twofold example—resulted as a kind of aftermath of a meeting of the New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children, held in July, 1941. The press had carried what amounted to a warning by the Chairman of the Conference, Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman, regarding our population situation, and also a few words he had spoken to the effect that a birth rate that would assure an average of four children per family was desirable. It was a rejoinder to this, handed to the press by Guy I. Burch who signed himself Director, Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D. C., that contained the misleading statements referred to. The first was to the effect that if Dr. Zimmerman's recommendation or suggestion regarding 4-child families were heeded, our population would reach "fantastic heights, putting to shame the population of China." The truth of the matter is that, instead of producing such a result, Dr. Zimmerman's recommendation, if heeded, would do little more than assure the country a permanently stable population. Able population authorities maintain that approximately four children per family are necessary to keep our population from eventual decline.

This author replied to Mr. Burch in *The Washington Post* of October 10, citing a number of authorities who had stated facts utterly at variance with his contentions, and calling attention to the release of January 31, 1941, of the United States Census Bureau, which stated that "if present birth and

death rates continue, the population of the United States will fail to maintain its numbers by approximately 4 per cent per generation."

In an answer, written allegedly for *The Washington Post*, a copy of which was sent the writer through the mail, Mr. Burch stated regarding the quoted Census release:

"If you will pardon our bluntness, the above statement from the Census Bureau is not true and the Census Bureau would be the first to admit it. It is one of those unfortunate errors that sometimes happen when dealing with complicated statistics."

That the Census Bureau should be releasing erroneous information was a bit startling to one who had come to rely so much on its official output over the years. Hence we wrote the director for enlightenment. An answer was speedily forthcoming. But it contained no admission of error.

Whether Mr. Burch's rejoinder was ever sent to *The Washington Post* we cannot say. But we can testify that we looked in vain for its appearance in the columns of that paper.

A second glaringly misleading statement in Mr. Burch's rejoinder to Dr. Zimmerman's recommendation was the alleged fact that "there are too many mouths to feed already." In the statement Mr. Burch went on to assert that there were 45,000,000 people in this country living at a level below the requirements of health and efficiency. Then he asked how we could healthfully support 25,000,000 more. That too, we say, was misleading. It implied that the shamefully large amount of poverty and malnutrition in the United States was attributable to overpopulation or to a disproportion between the coun-

try's population and its resources. But, Mr. Burch was, of course, aware of the efforts of the United States Department of Agriculture, acting under Federal law at that very time, to control the agricultural surplus. Nor could a man in his position hardly be ignorant of the fact that American industry had for many years past not been producing anywhere near capacity. More than likely he was also aware—certainly in his position he should have been—that economists had been blaming our economic ills not on under-production but on over-production.

The fact is, there is far more than enough to assure a very respectable standard of living to our present population, and to that which may be added to it in the decades ahead. Indeed, it has long been, and is still today, this writer's sincere conviction that at least a half billion people could very easily be supported in the United States. But, entirely aside from this point of personal opinion, Mr. Burch's whole line of argumentation was altogether out of keeping with the facts. It was misleading, to put it mildly.

Incidentally, it might be well to note here that even ordinary press reports must be read with care if they are not to prove misleading at times. For instance when the Census Bureau announced the number of births for 1941, news stories stated that the baby crop for that year was the second largest in the history of the United States, the 2,500,000 babies being previously exceeded but once—in 1921, when 2,600,000 births were recorded. What the stories did not say is that there were, besides the *recorded* births of 1921, quite a few others—(some authorities

estimate 3,000,000 in all for 1921)—since at that times there were still a number of States outside the registration area. Furthermore, the press failed to indicate that the population of 1941, which gave us 2,500,000 children, totaled 133,000,000 people, while that of 1921, which gave us the reported 2,600,000 was only approximately 106,000,000; that is, 27,000,000 less.

Pictures With Strange Meaning

It might be well in this connection also to point out that pictures are also used by organized birth control in a way that readily mislead the unwary. A fairly recent example of this is that of a popular publication coming from the Birth Control Federation of America. It contains one picture of a pitiful, ragged sharecropper's wife and child, and another of a deserted windswept farm, apparently in the "dust-bowl" area. Obviously, the idea meant to be conveyed by the pictures is that the poverty and lack of rain, so much in evidence, were the fruit of a lack of birth control, and that removing the lack would be the solution for the situation. The publication dealt entirely with birth control and there was not the slightest hint that better farms or better weather or even bigger incomes might brighten the picture. Incidentally, the pictures were secured for use from a Federal Agency, the Farm Security Administration.

Victim Cases

The foregoing suggests in a measure another means used by the birth controllers to win followers for their cause, namely, the "victim" case, the exceptional case. The idea that is meant to be conveyed here is that the general situation, the general rule, must be made to fit the exceptional case. The

same notion is seen, for example, in the case of divorce. The right to divorce is upheld by its devotees, come what may to the ultimate good of society, because they maintain some innocent individuals would otherwise suffer. The fact of the matter is, of course, that recognition of the divorce principle ultimately means even far more suffering.

It is worthy of note that Margaret Sanger, while taking birth control, as we have been told, from Greenwich Village to Park Avenue, still paints lurid pictures of slums and the poor, and shows great concern about the sick. And no matter what the reason for their environment or social station or physical condition the remedy for the "victims" is always the same—birth control.

Perhaps Mrs. Sanger reaches her climax in victim cases in that of a leprous woman in China who gave birth to a child in the street. All possible decorations are used in telling the story. Needless to add, there was again but one solution for the case.

Elsewhere Mrs. Sanger again turns to China, this time to give the Church hardly less than a libelous scathing. "Go through the reeking labyrinth of one of these native cities," she writes, "on a day when a hot sun brings out all of the wretched incurable, diseased and leprous breed with the rapidity and irresponsibility of flies." And where does the blame for this lie? Her own words are plain. "And we are asked by the Roman Catholic Church to believe that this multiplication of disease, filth, and degeneracy is directed by divine will and must not be checked by a controlled fertility."⁵ Mrs. Sanger herself has on more than one occasion mentioned

5. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 165

both the fact that the Church believes in a controlled fertility, and the means by which the control is to be exercised.

From Baby To Babies

The expert propagandists of the organized birth controllers also know how to change their techniques with the temper of the times. One interesting example of this is that of a leaflet that they have circulated extensively. When the health *motif* was considerably in the air, a picture on the cover of the leaflet showed a healthy happy mother and one child. But, when the birth rate began to show a slight upturn, and, when with the war, feeling against those who had been accountable for our shocking birth rate decline, had shown even more than a slight upturn, the leaflet was worked over. It now shows a mother and a half dozen children, the latter so to speak rolling off the assembly line. The first leaflet carried the caption, "Birth Control—Questions and Answers," the second, "Planned Parenthood—Your Questions Answered."

The birth controllers are of course known for changing things, particularly the names of their organizations and publications. It is conceivable that some people are influenced by such changes. But, lest anyone think they have actually repented and "gone baby" as suggested by the above example, we will record in closing this chapter the latest blast from their generalissimo, Margaret Sanger, given the press about the time the afore-mentioned second leaflet was in preparation. It reads:

It is a very bad time to have children. There are three reasons. First, the Administration is trying its utmost to get people worried about the future. It wants us all to have a serious

attitude about the insecurity of the future. Such a feeling creates a wrong condition under which to have children.

Second, glandular upsets of the mothers during a period of worry and anxiety affect the unborn child.

And finally, in case the children should be born healthy, we have the nutrition question, to say nothing of the mental atmosphere of deprivation in the home.

Every mother in this country who wants to have a healthy normal child should wait until there is assurance of security for the child and parents too.

That is about the courage and stamina one would expect the doctrine of birth control to produce. It is essentially a doctrine of shirking and selfishness.

In contrast, how much more noble and social the attitudes expressed but a short time afterwards by Dr. Fred Lyman Adair, professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Chicago, and by Miss Hazel Corbin, Director of New York's famed Maternity Center Association. Dr. Adair, speaking at the meeting of the American Congress of Obstetrics and Gynecology at St. Louis, April 7, 1942—a meeting at which he served as general chairman—stated that having a baby is a manifestation of good citizenship. "People who say that this or any other time is a bad time to have a baby are prophets of defeat," he said. And he added: "Parents unconsciously develop a greater interest in the future of their country than do childless couples, or unmarried men or women."

Miss Corbin stated that children make one believe in tomorrow. "A child gives you reason to

work for a better world." She admitted, as would any reasonable person, that the war period is a difficult time in which to maintain the routine of normal life, but added that "in time of destruction, consciousness in rearing a family is a vital stabilizing force." And she concluded with the sensible note: "A type of courage is required, but it is no greater than that demanded of those who had babies in 1776, 1863, or 1917."

One would not expect birth controllers either to speak or to appreciate such fine sentiment. If they did, they would hardly make themselves guilty of using such strategy as they have time and again used in foisting ideas of birth control upon the people of the United States.

Chapter VII

THE ECONOMIC

There is a relation between the economic and the birth control movement. In fact, there are a number of relationships between the two. Needless to add, other factors beside the economic enter into it also.

France

In France, for instance, birth control was fostered by the socialists and other radical types among the proletariat. Indeed they held it as a threat over French society that they would no longer be *proletarii* (bearers of children) unless they got certain demands. There would be a "strike of wombs," they said. And they proved they meant it. By the time the strike was well under way the hair of the "upper" classes began standing on end. But it was too late. The damage had been done. And it was not to be repaired.

The United States

In the beginnings of the birth control movement in this country it was also linked with socialists and similar radicals. Mrs. Sanger's connections with these will be recalled. But in this country, matters did not long remain so. Within a few years after she began her campaign, Mrs. Sanger started appealing to the wealthy or financially better-fixed women for the support of her cause. She thereby, knowingly or unknowingly, made herself the tool of wealth. The doctrine that employers had in justice to pay a family living wage had been gaining consistent ground, and the wealthy began

to fear the workers meant business about it. One simple way out of it was to help the birth control cause. If workers had few or no children, a family wage meant quite a different thing than if they had a normal-size family. Unquestionably it had temporary advantages for the employing classes. But it was a very short-sighted policy. In the long run it could only prove destructive.

England

Mrs. Sanger points out that in England birth control had from the beginning a definite economic link. "It was significantly noticeable," she writes, "that the trend of the movement in England was economic, influenced, no doubt by such scientists as Keynes, Cox, Drysdale, and based on the work previously done by Mills, Place, Carlyle, and back to Malthus himself."¹

G. K. Chesterton says precisely the same thing, but puts matters in a far different light than Mrs. Sanger or those she names. He calls Malthus unequivocally a tool of wealth who used his (Malthusian) theory to counter all social reform. Malthus, points out G. K., was the antithesis of Godwin, social reformer and friend of Shelley, who had "filled the wealthy old men of his time with pressing and enduring terror." To quote his words:

But the point here is that Malthus meant his argument as an argument against all social reform. Nobody else ever thought in those more logical days of using it as anything but an argument against all social reform. Malthus even used it as an argument against the ancient habit of human charity. He warned people against any generosity in the giving of alms. His theory was always thrown as cold water on any

1. An Autobiography, p. 278

proposal to give the poor man property or a better status. Such is the noble story of birth control.

And again he writes:

What he (the birth controller) wants to control is the populace, and he practically says so. He always insists that a workman has no right to have so many children, or that a slum is perilous because it is producing so many children. The question he dreads is why has not the workman a better wage? Why has not the slum family a better house? His way of escaping from it is to suggest not a larger house but a smaller family.²

By way of proof for his statement regarding the motive of wealth in this matter Chesterton calls attention to the simple fact that it is always the poor of whom there are, according to the birth controllers, too many. There are never too many bankers, financiers, dukes, etc.

Chesterton admits, however, that "Malthus, and his sophistry against all social reform," did not stand alone. As he adds, it was one of a whole class of scientific excuses invented by the rich as reasons for denying justice to the poor." He does not discuss the latter in any detail, but mentions in passing, the Iron Law of Political Economy, and Darwinism with its struggle for life and its "devil taking the hindmost." "They all had the character of an attempt," he said, "to twist the new tool of science to make it a weapon for the old tyranny of money."

Chesterton says that opponents can drag in other issues in an effort to create confusion, but that

2. *Social Reform versus Birth Control*, The League for National Life, London

“at the very beginning of the whole discussion stands the elementary fact that limiting families is a reason for lowering wages and not a reason for raising them . . . If you can make the wage larger there is no need to make the family smaller. If you can make the family small, there is no need to make the wage larger. Anyone may judge which the ruling capitalist will probably prefer to do. But if he does one, he need not do the other.”

The story, as we have already intimated, is all quite the same in this country. Here, too, there has been a “tool.” The “club women and women of wealth” gladly helped this cause. The “socialites” gladly chucked birth control information into the envelopes, as we saw in the North Carolina instance, when birth notices went out in the mail. And, of course, the press helped the cause. For who controls the press? Certainly not the poor.

Birth Control And National Recovery

The economic was brought in a very special way into the birth control picture in the United States during the great depression. The birth controllers held a meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 15-17, 1934, calling it the American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery. At this meeting Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, speaking as a substitute for Rabbi Wise, called attention to the fact that 4,500,000 families were dependent upon relief when the government program was started, and went on to say it was unwise and unsocial to permit families of that class to increase. He made the recommendation that in addition to food, relief, and medical care, the Federal Government might also give them

information on birth control and contraception. He suggested that every state relief organization should have a birth control clinic, and added that *if the Federal Government endeavored to establish a minimum wage it ought to establish at the same time what constitutes a maximum family.* He said that the Government was obliged by its very policy of the day to engage in a birth control program.

Speaking at another session later on, Mrs. Sanger parroted the some general idea, saying that it should be the duty of the Government to provide for the diseased, the inefficient, the overburdened and unfit, *and others who may desire* available information on contraception. At the end of the Conference the recommendation, substantially as made by Rabbi Goldstein, was put in the form of a resolution and taken to the White House. We read the following under date of January 17, 1934:

Mrs. Margaret Sanger, and a delegation from the American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery, called at the White House today to leave a resolution passed by the Conference urging President Roosevelt to 'advise Congress on the importance' of amending the criminal code to permit dissemination of birth control information in medical circles. The delegation was received by Marvin H. McIntyre, secretary to the President. Mrs. Sanger and Dr. James Bossard, University of Pennsylvania, spoke for the delegation.

The delegation included Mrs. Sanger, Mrs. Thomas A. Hepburn, Hartford, Connecticut; Mrs. Walter A. Timme, New York City; Mrs. John F. Dryden, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Norwich, Conn.; Dr. James H. S. Bossard, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Ray Erwin Baber, New York University; Dr. James L. McCartney, Classification

Clinic, Elmira Reformatory; and Dr. J. S. Klumpp, Huntington, West Virginia.

The letter signed by Mrs. Sanger, read:

The following Resolution was passed at this morning's session of the American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery:

Whereas the Federal Government has taken under its care millions of families that are in a condition of dependency and destitution, and it is generally recognized that families in this state should not increase the number of children, and

Whereas the Federal Government through the Codes is establishing a minimum wage, and a minimum wage must mean a maximum family not larger than the minimum wage can support, and

Whereas the Federal Government is endeavoring to solve the problem of unemployment; and solution of this problem requires a limitation of workers in accordance with the job supply;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Federal Government be urged to authorize and instruct all workers dealing with families under the Relief and Recovery program to encourage and facilitate the use by such families of birth control clinics and similar agencies to the fullest extent permitted under Federal and State Laws as now existing, and

Therefore, be it further resolved that the President of the United States be respectfully urged to advise Congress of the importance of the amending sections 211, 245, 311, and 312 of the Criminal Code.

Helen Clarke, in her volume, *Social Legislation*, repeatedly makes the point that the poor should be restricted in their right to propagate.

Much the same notion was advanced at the "hearings" on the birth control bill held in 1934.

Speaking against the bill, H. R. 5978, before the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Seventy-Third Congress, Dr. John A. Ryan, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, called attention to this fact, pointing out that this indicated a shift from the earlier arguments of the advocates of the bill. He stated:

Those who advocate the bill which we are discussing here obviously have reasons for so doing, but I notice that there has been a shift in the emphasis in their arguments from the individual to social grounds. At most hearings previously, the plight of the individual, the individual mother, and the individual family was stressed, and the necessity therefore of bringing contraceptive methods and information to such a person.

But this year it seems the emphasis is upon social considerations. It is asserted that the bill is necessary, and the information which it provides for should be available in order to prevent an increase in children of destitute parents, because the burden of destitution among children is very great, and this would be our method of lessening that burden upon society.

Dr. Ryan called this Toryism, a word considerably in the air at that time, and protested against it in concluding his statement before the Committee. He said:

If I may take a minute or two to summarize the situation with reference to this bill. You are asked to pass this bill in order to make birth control knowledge available to the poor so they will have fewer children, and the drain on our relief through the Government agencies will be smaller; in return for the relief they have had, they owe to the Government the duty of restricting their families.

I protest against this theory. It is Toryism. That is the belief that society, which means we, the more fortunate classes, and the rich classes, have a right to determine all policies, and we will put on them the burden of lessening their families.

We have in this country an abundance of resources to provide a much richer and higher life for all of the population if we could only get it organized. It is unorganized because society is not organized properly, and the blame is there, and should be kept there, and not thrown on these unfortunate persons.

This line of argument tends to divert the people from the real causes of maladjustment, and these are failures on the part of society.

Finally, Dr. Ryan added that he considered "fantastic" the notion that the birth control bill would have any effect on recovery. His remark about the "abundance" of our resources was particularly apt. Our public officials had destroyed produce, and at that very time were limiting production. For several years long rows of hungry people had been standing in bread lines in the shadow of giant elevators bursting with grain. Because of our "unorganized system" they were unable to get at our vast accumulations of produce except by way of practical beggary.

Bewailing the results of these "hearings" in her *Autobiography*, Mrs. Sanger states that Dr. Ryan spoke on a subject he could not speak on with authority, namely economics.³ To the many who know Dr. Ryan as one of the foremost economists of the United States her remark will of course be placed in the same category as the many other sim-

3. P. 428

ilar meaningless utterances she has so often and so recklessly made.

Commenting in a letter to the *New York Times* on the meeting of the Birth Control Federation held in the Waldorf-Astoria, early in 1942, Edward J. Heffron referred to those in attendance as people who "meet in swanky hotels to legislate for the poorest of the poor in New York's Harlem and elsewhere." Then he went on to say that in championing the cause of "planned parenthood," the privileged classes are "half-consciously afraid that, while they, the privileged, are stalling, the underprivileged will go ahead and eventually overwhelm them by sheer force of numbers. Or," he added, "it may be that they, who profit from the unjust distribution of our present day economy, see all too clearly that they'll have either to dragoon the poor into providing fewer mouths to feed, or else pay them enough to feed them."

The Family Wage

Over against such notions—that instead of paying decent wages to workers they can be induced to cut down their families, or that the government in order to save relief money can demand of the poor that they cut down the number of their children, there is the sane and balanced view of the family living wage. The argument for it is simplicity itself. One of the fundamental rights of man is his right to marry. To marry implies the fulfillment of the prime purpose of marriage, the rearing of a family. That, in turn, implies the right to a wage that will support a family, since the ordinary wage earner has no other source of income wherewith to maintain his family.

Public Assistance

This is not to say, of course, that the state has no part to play with regard to family support. Quite to the contrary, it does have a part to play. It is for the state to insist, if necessary, through minimum wage legislation that a family wage is paid. But it is not for the state to say that, instead, families must cut down their size. Furthermore, when in spite of all effort to promote a family living wage, there are still families in straitened circumstances, the State has duties by way of public assistance. Thus, Pope Pius XI specified in his Encyclical on *Christian Marriage*, the following cases in which State action becomes necessary for the poor:

1) When families, particularly those in which there are many children have not suitable dwellings; 2) When the husband cannot find employment and means of a livelihood; 3) When the mother, to the great hurt of the home, is compelled to go forth and seek a living by her own labors; 4) When in the ordinary or even extraordinary labors of childbirth the mother is deprived of proper food, medicine, and the assistance of a skilled physician.

"Those who have the care of the state and of the public good," added His Holiness, "cannot neglect the needs of married people and their families without bringing great harm upon the state and on the common welfare."

How different all this from the attitudes of the advocates of sterility! The latter call attention to the conditions of the poor, contrasting their wages with high rents, poor housing, and social insecurity, in an attempt to do that which cannot be done, namely, justify their nefarious work. They do not argue, for instance, that poverty should be

corrected so that human beings can exercise their God-given right to marry and rear a normal family. Instead they advocate a practice that is a violation of nature and intrinsically and fundamentally wrong. Some of them, as we have seen, even teach in this country the infamous doctrine that the poor should be denied such a fundamental human right as the right to rear a normal family of children. As a matter of fact, as we have also noted, such doctrines have been taught in the face of giant surpluses of goods that could not be disposed of.

Well indeed does the Pope warn that the State that fails to do her duty in regard to the married people and their families, will bring great harm upon herself and upon the common welfare.

Our own Government has taken some steps that are helpful to the family. It has passed considerable social legislation, and started a number of projects that should prove beneficial to family life. However, in spite of these efforts there are usually great numbers in straitened circumstances. Furthermore, there is the sorry fact that the Government has relaxed its laws relating to birth control. Partly at least as a result of this, morals have been ruined, and voluntary sterility has been taught and accepted in practice. And, unfortunately, once matters have gone that far, economic reforms, no matter how excellent in themselves, will come too late. They will not fully remedy matters. Practices of sterility will continue. The State and the common good will suffer. We need only look to France for an example of this. As the eminent French physician, Dr. Doleris, has said:

The present multiplication of relief agencies, the new organizations for help, the extreme

liberality of pecuniary grants . . . have proved a complete failure. The wives of the Paris working-class decline maternity more and more the lighter the burden becomes.

The results insofar as France is concerned, have already been noted. She has paid the penalty for her sin. Have we any reason to expect a different outcome in our case if we continue along the road mapped out over the past quarter century by the proponents of uncontrol? It is undoubtedly true that here and now, in a given case, individuals might gain something by the cutting down of the number of children in their family. But in the long run, will there be gain or loss? Will the nation gain or lose, will the common good gain or lose? The answer is positively in the negative. This seems entirely obvious. Yet there are those who are still misled by the false belief to the contrary.

France And Germany Contrasted

Some years ago the very able French scholar, Paul Bureau, discussed the question of the economic as it relates to birth control, in the case of the two countries, France and Germany. It was one of the many arguments that he used in his volume, *Towards Moral Bankruptcy*, in the hope of bringing his fellow-countrymen to their senses. We know with what little success his efforts met. But perhaps there is now at least some remote possibility that others will heed his words of wisdom. With this in mind, we recall the main facts and arguments he presented with regard to the economic.

To begin with, Bureau calls attention to the fact that the neo-Malthusians usually produce a great effect on their ignorant audiences with their

statement that a larger share of wealth is dealt out to each person in a society with a "planned" birth rate than in one with a prolific rate. As the matter is usually put to the gullible audience: "The fewer the people among whom a pie is divided, the larger the piece for each."

But is it really as simple as that? Or does the pie itself possibly tend to grow smaller? If so, would not that be worth considering?

As a matter of fact their simple theory, Bureau maintains, is completely contradicted by actualities. "Among all the political or economic phenomena which dominate contemporary European history," writes this gifted scholar, "there is none more notorious or more important than that of the great increase in the population of the great majority of European nations *when the economic and political conditions were sufficiently advanced to favor the increase of wealth*. Whether we look at Great Britain or Italy, Switzerland, Belgium or Holland, Bulgaria or Rumania, everywhere the two phenomena develop in strictest correlation. Nowhere, it must be said, is the twofold increase more evident than in Germany."

The author then goes on to describe the development in Germany, saying that clear apprehension of it is essential to an understanding of the situation created in France by its voluntary restriction of the birth rate. He writes:

No one, at the time of the Franco-German War of 1870, or even several years afterwards, would have dreamt of comparing the wealth of France with that of Germany. It was understood that our German neighbors were lamentably poor, and their enormous annual emigra-

tion seemed to prove the hopeless inability of the country to sustain her children. This condition of things continued until towards 1880. Since that period we have seen, simultaneously, a great increase in the population, while public and private wealth have increased to a degree that the most optimistic prophets would not have believed possible.

The fecundity of the nation has made possible the extraordinary development of agriculture, of industry and commerce, of banks and universities, and in turn, the wealth which circulates abundantly calls for men to such a degree that not only does emigration cease, but Germany becomes a country for immigration! She calls for labor from outside her borders, her workmen and her own children are not enough for her any longer, and as the native race is strong and vigorous, this influx of foreigners, which is a danger for us, becomes an additional source of energy and production for our rivals.

Giving considerable data to uphold his assertion, the author continues:

Compare this increase in so many departments, these phenomenal advances in food production, and you will understand how each individual in this vast conglomeration of 68 million human beings, compact in serried ranks on a territory precisely the size of France, is far better off, far more comfortably clothed, housed, and fed, in 1913, than were their grandfathers in 1830 or their fathers in 1875 . . . People died of hunger in Germany, writes M. Rossignol, when she had but 41,000,000 inhabitants; they have become richer and richer since she numbered 68,000,000.

Bureau's conclusion is, not that population alone will produce such marvels, but that it is an essential condition for the same. As he puts it:

We say that the condition of Germany, and

in a less degree that of many other countries in which the conditions have been improved, prove that an increase of population, far from producing a growing impoverishment of the individual and the nation, greatly tends to their enrichment and to their general advance in well-being, culture and civilization. Who will venture to maintain, in fact, that an equal development of economic power and wealth would have been possible to a Germany that had listened to the teaching of the neo-Malthusian doctors, and had remained a country of 40,000,000 inhabitants? The increase of the population would never have sufficed by itself to produce these developments, but it was *necessary* if they were to become possible; and if the one had been less, the other would have been greatly inferior to what they are.

Regarding his own country, on the other hand, Bureau says that the low birth rate, far from contributing to the enrichment of France and the advance of its general well-being, did irreparable harm to her economic state and her national wealth. One proof he offers is the following: "Our national soil has suffered in thirty-five years, 1879 to 1914, a depreciation of 40,000 million francs, and is worth only 52,000 instead of 92,000 millions." Worthy of particular note too are the words of the publicist, Paul Gemahling, whom he quotes as follows:

In a great nation, it is not without impunity that each family can confine its ambitions to providing a *dot* for its daughter and securing a comfortable career for its son. The whole life of such a nation cannot fail to shrink gradually in the same proportion. To a foreign industry rich in initiative what have we to oppose?

An authority in this country who has repeatedly warned against the economic results of a dwindling

population is Dr. Oliver E. Baker, of the United States Department of Agriculture. As one expression of his views on this we cite the following words of his given before the Association of American Geographers towards the end of 1932:

It seems to be assumed . . . that decreasing population would result in a higher standard of living because the tendency to concentrate agricultural production on the better lands, mineral production on the better deposits, and industrial production in the more efficient factories. *It is my opinion that these hopes, with reference to the United States, will prove illusory*, particularly if the decline of population is rapid. Vacant houses, vacant storerooms, idle factories, abandoned farms will tend to lower rent and interest returns and thereby temporarily lower the cost of living, but the lessened return to capital is likely to depress gradually the spirit of enterprise, and may well lead to increasing dependence upon government . . . The decreasing number of children will probably diminish the incentive for saving . . . Vacant buildings and abandoned lands are likely also to exert a depressing psychological influence. The greatly increased proportion of old people may have, likewise, a depressing effect.

Speaking at the New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children, Newton Edwards said that a changing population was leading to problems that are "central" in nature. He specifically mentioned among these problems, the economic, and had this to say of it:

The slowing down of population growth and almost certain decline in our total population may be expected to have a profound influence on the operation of our economic system. As the rate of population growth falls off and when decline sets in, it will be increasingly difficult

to find investment for savings in capital goods. During the nineteenth century the population of this country increased fifteen fold. This was a powerful factor in stimulating business enterprise and in creating economic prosperity. It is estimated that during the last half of the nineteenth century 60 per cent of American capital formation may be attributed to population growth. In the future we may expect this factor to be *put into reverse* with the result that private enterprise will find it increasingly difficult to provide investment for savings, government spending may have to reach a volume far in excess of that of the 1930's. *Population change may become an important force impelling a society in the direction of collectivistic economics.* It may be an open question whether any modern capitalistic economy can stand the strains that a rapidly declining population will place on it.⁴

What Professor Edwards says of population change becoming an impelling force, driving society in the direction of statism, or "collectivistic economics," is undoubtedly true. Furthermore, the family will be increasingly subjected to the state. Many birth controllers in fact recommend this, particularly in respect to the child. Even his procreation, according to some, is to be state-regulated. Here, too, the economic easily enters in and plays an important part. As Edwards puts it: "In the course of years, in order to rescue the American family from sterility, or near-sterility, it may be necessary to transfer from the home to the larger society a very large part of the economic burden which the rearing of children entails." The more the state takes over that burden, the more will it also take over the child.

4. Given at Harvard University, July 9, 1942.

Mrs. Sanger gives us at least an occasional glimpse of her notion of statism, insofar as the child is concerned. "Children were the priceless possessions of Russia," she writes in her *Autobiography*.⁵ Their time was planned for them from birth to the age of sixteen, when they were paid to go to college, if they so desired." Much the same idea was repeated by her at the American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery held at Washington in 1934. Thus, she stated: "I predict that if the time comes when we want to increase the birth rate, it can be done if the Government guarantees to take care of the child from the time of its birth until it is through college."

Incidentally, some of the "priceless possessions of Russia" informed her and her son one day what Russia thought of American birth control. One of a group of children remarked as the two passed: "Ah, there go some of the dying race."⁶

It is well known of course that not a few radical feminists advocate handing the child over entirely to the State. There are others, and in increasing numbers who advocate this on at least a limited scale. Both contribute to that highly unfortunate fact in our civilization, the killing of the family sense and the consequent decay and demoralization of the family itself.

Nor should it be amiss to repeat here, in this day of a contracting world that is ever linking East and West into closer union, that the mere fact of a dwindling population is an exceedingly serious matter aside from all economic considerations. It is, as

5. P. 442

6. An *Autobiography*, p. 440.

we have already suggested, even a matter of life and death to the leadership of the white race.

Man has related birth control to the economic. But he will not find in birth control a remedy for his economic problem. He will not find in it a solution for any of his problems. By having recourse to it he will only add a new problem, a serious one, a moral problem. As one popular writer recently reminded: "Man is something more than a mere animal. What he needs, therefore, is not birth control but self-control. What he needs is a universal sense of justice, a renewal of practical religion so that all men may have an opportunity to live humanly, honestly, and honorably, and to transmit this heritage to their children's children."

Chapter VIII

HEALTH AND RELIGION

Today the professional birth controllers stress the point of physical health in connection with their program. At any rate, they do so outwardly. The reason for it is obvious. Try as they would they got nowhere in their efforts for an outright repeal of the Comstock law. Hence, they eventually turned to the idea of a "doctors only" law. That is, they sought to have it recognized as legal for a doctor to give contraceptive information for reasons of health. As will be recalled, even this notion was not accepted by the Congress of the United States, though ten different attempts were made to have it embodied in law. It was only after that, and at utter variance with the ten-times expressed decision of the official channels of the peoples' representatives, that a Federal Circuit Court Justice, by interpretation actually made of the Comstock law a "doctors only" law.

Other Than Health Reasons

Meanwhile propaganda and publicity had made of birth control a vast commercialized racket into which the notion of health rarely if ever entered. Furthermore, the notion of "health" was greatly stretched. Nor will anyone believe that all doctors limited their advice and practice regarding birth control only to health cases. The words of Helen Clarke, cited before, will be recalled in this connection. The Birth Control Federation of America furnishes for the asking, and without any question what they are wanted for, lists of doctors in various parts of the country who will give birth control information.

For that matter the birth controllers themselves have sought to extend the law definitely by linking it with the economic or the question of poverty. Thus, for example, Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, Professor of Public Health, Yale University School of Medicine, in an article entitled "Birth Control As a Public Health Problem" in the *Birth Control Review*, January, 1938,¹ does precisely this. Discussing conditions which he claimed made pregnancy dangerous, he stated: "There is a third health menace involved in pregnancy which, though less apparent than the direct contra-indications of subnormal physical and mental status, is equally significant. This is the indirect influence upon health of pregnancy in the family whose economic status is not adequate to meet the financial burden of childbearing and child rearing. We are today realizing, more and more clearly, the relation of poverty to health. Death rates consistently mount as we pass from higher to lower income levels; and the effective income level of a given family is determined by the number of mouths which must be fed. Each additional child involves an extra burden. Each additional child lowers the effective income level of the family. Each additional child, for the family whose income is near the margin of subsistence, means poorer housing, less food, more nervous strain for the family as a whole."

And what is the remedy, according to the learned doctor? Is it that of other doctors? Is it, find the cause and apply the remedy there? In other words, is it correct the economic conditions? Remove the poverty? By no means. He has another and simpler remedy. Do it by the unnatural practice he is dis-

1. The article was reprinted and distributed by the Birth Control Federation

cussing. Rob the parents of the right of parenthood. As he puts it: "*The limitation of pregnancy* in such a family is a fundamental essential of preventive medicine." Surely the obvious inference is: the millions of *poor* in the United States are to practice birth control, for *health* reasons.

In an article on birth control, by Dr. Nicholas J. Eastman, professor of obstetrics at Johns Hopkins University, the economic is set forth as the root of many medical problems, but nothing is said about applying a remedy at the root cause. The title of the article is, "The Aims of Birth Control and Their Place in Preventive Medicine," and it appears in *New International Clinics*. The birth control publication, *Human Fertility*, referring to it in an editorial, states: "Dr. Eastman does not limit himself to *the medical indications alone*. He recognizes clearly that the 'root of medical problems is often economic,' and that 'dire economic distress' may very readily constitute a medical reason for family limitation.'"

The following, sent out in December, 1942, by the Holland-Rantos Company under the heading of "Lost Time" does not even refer to the question of health:

"A gravid female worker is a more serious casualty in the 'all out' program than the worker with a traumatic injury!

"If you multiply this worker by the number of women now employed in your plant and add those eventually to be employed—this simple statement has real importance!

"As the pioneer manufacturer of contraceptive materials and specialists in this field, we offer our

knowledge—gained through years of clinical experience—to aid you with this critical problem.”

While the question of health, no more than the question of poverty settles the morality of such a practice as birth control, the birth controllers, even aside from all questions of morals, find themselves very hard put to make out a case for their unnatural practice on the basis of health. Great numbers of the most distinguished medical authorities of the world say that, instead of being an aid to health, birth control is itself an unhealthful practice. They maintain that it is both physically and mentally harmful. To be sure, that is precisely what one must expect in view of the fact that it is a violation of nature, a vicious and unnatural practice.

Medical Authorities Speak

Any number of citations from medical authorities of high standing show that the practice of birth control is in itself harmful to health.² A few selected ones are set down here for the benefit and convenience of the reader:

Within any ordinary group it is the woman with the largest family who lives longest, not the childless or unmarried woman.—Dr. Paul Popenoe, General Director, the American Institute on Family Relations, and Lecturer in Biology, University of Southern California, in his volume, *Modern Marriage*.

A great many people seem to forget that childbearing is a natural and physiological function, and not at all a pathological condition; that indeed barring accident, as an unfortunate introduction to germs from without, childbearing

2. Cf. e.g. Edward Roberts Moore, *The Case Against Birth Control*, D. Appleton-Century Co. Raoul de Guchteneere, *Judgment Against Birth Control*, Macmillan Co.

only seems to develop the nature of a woman, and to give her more abundant life, very much as the exercise of any function does as a rule . . . A woman is actually supposed by many to imperil seriously her life and her health if she has more than two or three children. Though as a matter of fact, the history of the older times when families were larger shows us that women were then healthier on the average than they are now, in spite of all the progress that medicine and surgery have made in relieving serious ills . . . The modern dread of deterioration of vitality as the result of frequent childbearing is quite without foundation in the realities of human experience.—Dr. James J. Walsh, of the Academy of Medicine of New York, in his book, *Health*.

Dr. M. A. van Bouwdijk-Bastianse of Amsterdam stated at a meeting in Nymwegen in 1929 that there was not a single preventive at all times and surely uninjurious. Among possible serious consequences from the use of contraceptives are, inflammation or cancer of the neck of the womb, sterility, and in some cases, death. He added that danger to the health of the woman, and even to her life, directly or indirectly, exceeds by far the danger connected with pregnancy and childbirth.

It is therefore not surprising that gynecologists should have reached the conclusion, from clinical observation, that contraception is a cause of sterility, of neurasthenia, and of fibroid tumors in women. So far from being beneficial, contraception is positively harmful to women. These physiological objections do not apply to the use of the "safe period" as a means of family limitation.—Dr. Halliday G. Sutherland, Honorable Secretary of the League of National Life, London.

The same authority stated with regard to the effects of birth control on children:

There is no real evidence in support of the assertion that intermittent birth prevention for this purpose of "spacing" the family, benefits such children as may be allowed to be born. After an exhaustive statistical investigation Dr. John Brownlee concludes that: "Where the data are taken before restriction of birth became a practical factor, there is no evidence that large families were more unhealthy than small ones, and the statement that it is better to have three healthy children than six unhealthy ones has no apparent foundation."

The health of the children in 500 very poor families selected at random in Hull was ascertained by Dr. Helen Granger. These families were divided into those having over five children and those having under five children. The health of the mother and children was found to be better in the large families.

Begun As An Economic Ideal

The truth of the matter is, the birth control movement began as an economic and not as a medical ideal. That is true in various countries. In Sweden, for instance, no pretense is made to this day at limiting birth control to cases of ill-health. Indeed, Sweden's Population Commission specifically rejects this notion. And the Commission is quoted to this effect in the volume, *Nation and Family*, written for American consumption by Alva Myrdal. The following are its plain and unequivocal words: "To forestall a common evasion of the issue it specifies that health conditions are not the only justification for birth control."

Of course it can be expected that the birth controllers will say in the face of all testimony to the

contrary that the practice of birth control is not harmful but helpful. That is one of the tactics of their expert propagandists. They know that if a thing is stated often enough, some people are likely to believe it. Nor must it be forgotten that some of their number, utterly lacking in expert training, unblushingly take it upon themselves to speak in a variety of professional fields. They have presumed to talk sociology and economics. They have presumed to teach doctors. They have presumed to teach theologians. They are "experts" in all fields. Yet, in speaking of their work these same people repeatedly use the word "scientific." In spite of all, however, the simple fact remains many of the unreasoning masses are deceived by them.

RELIGION AND BIRTH CONTROL

In a leaflet of the organized birth controllers already referred to³ we read the following: "Birth control has been endorsed by Churches. Most of the organized church groups of the Protestant and Jewish faiths have gone on record in favor of birth control. The Catholic Church recognized the need for family regulation but approves only the "rhythm" method."⁴

The statement, like hundreds of others made by the birth controllers, is easily misleading. We dare say not "most" of the organized church groups, but "all" of them believe in birth control in the sense of a rational family regulation. The question is not one of birth control but one of uncontrol. It is a question of method. *Granted a sufficient cause*, family regulation by natural means—the so-called

3. Planned Parenthood—Your Questions Answered

4. The term refers to natural birth control

rhythm method—is entirely upright and moral, and there is no reason whatever why any Church or any people should consider it otherwise. But artificial or unnatural birth control is an entirely different thing. That is a thing that is intrinsically wrong, immoral, and all the edicts of churchmen of ever so many groups will never change it.

As is well known, some non-Catholic groups have pretended to pronounce as moral even this type of birth control, this cheap filching of pleasure which shirks the burdens which nature has associated with marital relation. While the birth controllers' leader, Margaret Sanger, says her church-going consists in going to the movies, the birth controllers themselves try to make much of this dreadful betrayal of trust of some Churchmen. In fact, it has on occasion even made them "jubilant." Wrote Hazel Benjamin in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*: "First the more liberal Church groups—Unitarian and Universalists endorsed the movement. Gradually more conservative Jewish and Protestant groups fell in line. And great was the jubilation at Committee headquarters, when, in 1934, the Episcopal Church added its support."

The Federal Council

The organized birth controllers also list in their literature the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (Committee on Marriage and the Home) among groups endorsing birth control. But much is left unsaid. They fail to state that the report endorsed only what it termed "the careful and restrained use of contraceptives by married people."⁵

5. In a scathing editorial on the Report the *Washington Post* termed "preposterous" the suggestion that the use of legalized contraceptives would be "careful and restrained."

They fail to state that a minority report rejected all notion of artificial birth control. They fail to note the utter inconsistency of the majority report which accepted birth control in principle yet admitted that "serious evils; such as extra-marital sex relations, may be increased by general knowledge of contraceptives." They fail to state that Protestant bishops, Protestant clergymen, and Protestant church members bitterly denounced the Report of the Federal Council. Many citations to this effect could be adduced. Bishop Warren Chandler, for instance, in making it clear that the Federal Council was not speaking for the Methodist Episcopal Church South, added that, "the whole disgusting movement rests on the assumption of man's sameness with the brute." The *Lutheran*, of April 2, 1931, slyly remarked that the Report should be labeled: "The Opinions of Twenty-Eight Persons Belonging to the Portions of the Christian Church Commonly Called Protestant."

The Catholic Bishop of Rochester, the Most Rev. James E. Kearney, referring in a Lenten Pastoral of 1941 to the breakdown of certain religious groups on such a serious and vital moral matter, wrote as follows:

Some will ask, as they do, why it is that so many religious leaders have identified themselves with this movement, have become its active propagandists and have committed themselves to its definite support, the Catholic Church alone lagging behind, in the march of so-called progress: To which I can only reply in the words of Bassanio:

"In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt
But being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil?"

In religion, what damned error, but some sober
 brow
 Will bless it, and approve it with a text,
 Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?"

The truth is that to those who are aware of the fundamental principle of Protestantism such an example of disintegration and breakdown regarding a serious moral question is not entirely a surprise. That fundamental principle is individualism, a principle that logically leads to disintegration. In the final analysis it really means, "believe as you please and do as you please in matters of faith and morals, in matters of religion." True, many do not carry that principle out in any considerable measure in practice. But others do. And strange preachments indeed then result at times. For example, at the meeting of the American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery, held in Washington, the following "elevating" words were spoken by Bishop Francis J. McConnell (M.E. Church, New York): "You say it is a fine thing that men climb up. 'Sweet are the uses of adversity,' some poet has said. I say, 'bunk.' When men say this they always have somebody else's adversity in mind." And one can easily find worse. For example, there are so-called Christian ministers who have freely promoted the cause of Communism, a thing that is radically anti-Christian.

Why the professional birth controllers are at all interested in the view of the Churches on birth control, it is difficult to see, except that they are eager to find whatever props they can to bolster up their untenable position. Many of them, as a matter of fact, profess no religion, but only speak of a vague humanitarianism that does not reach beyond man.

Indeed, for some, birth control itself has become a quasi-religion.

The Trick Of Repetition

There are those among the birth controllers, who themselves utterly without training or standing to do so, speak apodictically in the field of morals as they do in so many other professional fields. Here too the trick seems to be repetition. Say often that this *nice clean thing*, birth control, is moral and some may believe it. Mrs. Sanger, for instance, does this time and time again. To cite but one example:

With this pamphlet (her Sing Sing job, *Family Limitation*) I intended to overcome all Puritanical objections to birth control. I naively believed that the Suffragists and Feminists, when they read its simple directions and its *clean wholesome advice* would join in this crusade and challenge the absurdity of *such clean ideas being classified as obscene*. (Italics mine) ⁶

Catholic Teaching Unequivocal

The teaching of the Catholic Church on birth control is clear, unequivocal. And it is generally known. To be sure, in spite of this some individuals in the Church may not accept the doctrine in practice. That is, they may fall victims to temptation here as they do regarding other matters of morals. Of these some may for a time simply throw the idea of conscientious duty to the wind. Others may even try to justify themselves by a process of rationalization—that is, by specious or fallacious reasoning. But both will more than likely experience a rude awakening on the day of reckoning. More than

6. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 84

one Rachel may then again bewail her children "because they are not."

A Catholic Bishop Speaks

The Bishop of Rochester has in his Pastoral, already referred to, some words that are to the point here. Specifically, they relate to the use of birth control by Catholics, and may well be cited in closing this chapter:

I wish first of all to deny a statement often appearing in the propaganda of the birth control clinics to the effect that Catholics are becoming more and more interested—so-called progressive Catholics. On this subject, let me state now, that the Catholic who would enter one of these centers, knowing the object of their existence, by that very act, denies her faith, repudiates the teaching authority of Christ's Church, and sets at naught the divine law. She may call herself a Catholic, she may have Catholic ancestry and Catholic Baptism, but her very action in defiance of the Church's teaching brands her a renegade to whom the Church justly applies the reproach of Isaias: "This people honor-eth me with their lips; but their heart is far away from me. And in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and commandments of men" Matt. XV. 8-9.

Chapter IX

NATURE AND UNCONTROL

Artificial birth control can be justified neither for reasons of health nor for reasons of poverty or straitened circumstances. For that matter birth control cannot muster in its favor one single tenable argument—plausible as some arguments may be made to appear at first blush or on the surface.

On the other hand, a multiplicity of arguments can be mustered against birth control. In fact, the very reason advanced in favor of the practice can all very effectively be turned against it. Birth control is simply the easy way, the pleasant way, the selfish way. It is not the moral way. It is not the social way. It is not a fundamental solution for the difficulties it pretends to obviate. Quite sufficient for the purpose of this volume are proofs for this found in other parts of the book, notably in the two preceding chapters which dealt specifically with the questions of health and the economic. We wish to discuss but one more argument here, namely that from nature.

The argument from nature against birth control has often been stated by writers. It can be very simply stated, and it can be very readily understood by an open mind.

Pius XI Speaks

To turn to a most eminent authority first, namely, Pope Pius XI, let us see what he has to say on this score in his encyclical on *Christian Marriage*. Not only does he therein condemn artificial birth

control; he condemns it specifically as a perversion of nature. His words are unmistakably clear.

No reason, however grave, may be put forward by which anything intrinsically against nature may become conformable to nature and morally good.

And he adds immediately:

Since, therefore, the conjugal act is destined primarily by nature for the begetting of children, those who in exercising it deliberately frustrate its natural power and purpose sin against nature and commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious.

These words succinctly express the attitude of the Church with regard to birth prevention in the sense of the artificial limitation of the family. Artificial birth control, or the frustration of the marriage act, is unnatural, is morally wrong, is intrinsically vicious. No purpose or circumstance can justify it.

To be sure, as the author has noted elsewhere, there is nothing new about the view.¹ It is but the age-old doctrine of the Church stated over again. The "Fathers," or early writers of the Church, definitely reprobated birth control. The Popes have time and again condemned it. The Roman Congregations whose duty it is to answer vexing points of moral practice, have never in their many answers done anything but condemn it. The Encyclical on Christian Marriage but repeats the self-same doctrine, emphasizing the particular reason, namely, that it is a violation of nature.

The argument from nature has been presented in greater detail, and with unusual thoroughness

1. A Commentary on the Christian Marriage Encyclical, N.C.W.C. publication, p. 40.

and clarity by the scholarly Professor of Moral Theology of the Catholic University of America, the Rev. Dr. Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R.² It should be to the advantage of the reader to have his clear logical words cited here. Particularly apt are the following lines:

Among the most important of man's faculties is the sexual power. Its chief purpose is the generation of new life. This purpose pertains to the social order; it concerns the common good rather than the individual good. When husband and wife perform their marital functions in the natural manner, they are concurring in the design of God toward the preservation and propagation of the human race. The full import of this objective is perceived only by those who admit the eternal destiny of mankind. To them parenthood means not merely the procreation of another member of society, but primarily cooperation with the Almighty in the creation of an immortal soul that is destined to be happy with God forever.

However, when husband and wife deliberately and positively frustrate the procreative purpose of sexual intercourse, they pervert the order of nature and thus directly oppose the designs of nature's Creator. And since the reproductive function is so vital to the upkeep of the race, and since any exception to this law would be multiplied indefinitely, every act of contraceptive frustration is a gravely immoral act, or in Catholic terminology, a mortal sin. To quote the terse phrase of Pope Pius XI in his Encyclical on *Christian Marriage*: "Any use whatsoever of matrimony exercised in such a way that the act is deliberately frustrated in its natural power to generate life is an offense against the law of God and of nature, and those

2. "Birth Control: The Case for the Catholic," *The Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1939

who indulge in such are branded with the guilt of a grave sin."

The Catholic Church does not teach that married couples are obliged, or even always counseled, to have as large a progeny as is physically possible. Reasons of health or of economy not infrequently make it advisable for a couple not to have more children. But the only lawful method of avoiding parenthood is abstinence, either total or periodic. Every intelligent person will see how different is this type of "birth control"—if one wishes to call it such—from the use of a contraceptive. One is the non-use of a faculty, the other is its abuse.

Married persons who are anxious to have more children but find an increase of their family impossible because of economic stress are particularly deserving of sympathy. There are many couples in such circumstances at the present day nobly practicing self-restraint rather than be guilty of what their conscience tells them is an abuse of the marriage act. Speaking of married couples in extreme want, Pope Pius XI says: "They should take care lest the calamitous state of their material affairs should be an occasion for a much more calamitous error. No difficulty can arise that justifies the putting aside of the law of God which forbids all acts intrinsically evil."

While recognizing the value of arguments based on physical and psychological considerations and on the decline of the birth rate, the Catholic Church gives first place to the argument drawn from the moral law. Harm done to individuals and to society is an immeasurably lesser evil than the rebellion of creatures against their Creator. It seems hardly necessary to remind you that the Catholic Church proclaims the prohibition of contraceptive practices, not as an act of merely ecclesiastical legislation (like the prohibition of meat eating on Friday),

but as a law emanating from God Himself, binding all human beings, whatever may be their religious convictions. Contraception was a sin thousands of years before the Catholic Church existed. Consequently, the Catholic Church can never change its stand on this matter. If the human race is in existence ten thousand years hence, no matter what changes may take place in the social and economic and scientific spheres, the Catholic Church will still be preaching the same doctrine on birth control that it is teaching today.

Excellent statements, such as the foregoing one by Dr. Connell could easily be multiplied. We shall add but one more here, before turning to some of the objections at times urged against the natural argument. It is taken from *The Christian Democrat*, (London), June, 1926, and reads:

But why is birth control wrong? As well ask why adultery or fornication or self-abuse are wrong, or the nameless vices of paganism by which men's very animal nature was perverted. The human reason sees that these are wrong—until the will determines that reason shall not face the question at all.

Every natural appetite has its proper purpose. The purpose of the appetite for food is bodily sustenance. The pursuit of mere pleasure in eating is gluttony; disgusting and unnatural when excess is reached. The Roman glutton who ate to excess and after an emetic fell to it again repels by his very grossness. The purpose of the sex appetite is the procreation of children. That it has other secondary purposes, such as the gratification of affection and the like, in no way lessens the fact that its main object, the purpose for which God gave it, is that it should be a means for the procreation of children. In God's design the good of the child predominates over every other purpose in this field. Hence

the age-old Christian teaching that the use of this instinct outside the marriage contract is always gravely wrong. Hence any intercourse which would frustrate and render impossible that end has ever been held to be gravely sinful and immoral. And just as the purpose of eating is not the pleasure attached to it but the sustaining of life, so the purpose of sexual intercourse is not pleasure that goes with it but the begetting of children.

The Church therefore demands that self-control which is the salt of life. Our instincts are God-given, but they are given to be controlled by reason. "The lust thereof shall be under thee, and thou shalt have dominion over it." Self-control freely and deliberately checks instinct because of a reason which the mind has recognized as true and right. This is a human way of acting, whereas the deliberate arousing of an instinct followed by the prevention of its consequences—whether by artificial means or by withdrawal makes no difference, morally speaking—is mechanical and sub-human. And here lies the specific evil of Birth Control. It is not primarily a question of population, or large families, or small, but of an act forbidden by the moral law. It is essentially a sin against human nature and hence against the God who is the author of human nature.

The words would seem exceedingly plain—even to a child, one might add. Yet it is against this particular stumbling block that the birth controllers continue to stub their toes. It is with the idea that artificial birth control is "unnatural" that they continue to pick flaws. But, it need hardly be added, they do not pick very deeply. And certainly they leave no lasting marks or dents. After all, the Church of the centuries knows what the natural is and means. She and her great scholars have been

in close contact with it for two thousands years. The professional birth controllers, on the other hand, are of exceedingly "recent vintage." On that score at least, some of their ignorance and shallowness might be held a bit excusable.

But to examine some of their own statements. A few of the effusions of Margaret Sanger's pen may well be looked into first. She comes back to the subject time and time again. The reader will more than likely find her "reasoning" extremely puerile.

The first instance we cite dates to the hearings on a birth control bill in Connecticut. She speaks of it as follows in her *Autobiography*:

In my ten-minute rebuttal I was able to answer the "against nature" argument as Francis Place had done a hundred years earlier. I turned the priest's own words on himself by asking why he should counteract nature's decree of imperfect vision by wearing eyeglasses, and why, above all, he was celebrate, thus outraging nature's primary demand on the human species—to propagate its kind. *The laughter practically ended the "unnatural" thesis for some time.*³

If the writer recalls correctly it was Goldsmith who scotched that one when he spoke of the "loud laugh that spoke the vacant mind." And this "laughter"—about the caliber of the usual birth controller's argument—was supposed to end the argument? What keen thinkers moderns have become!

But specifically to examine her statement. Is it true that eyeglasses "counteract nature's decree"? Do they not in fact do the very contrary, assist vision, the purpose for which nature gives man his

eyes? Is it conceivable that an adult rational being cannot distinguish between assisting nature in its purposes and defeating those same purposes?

We need hardly refer to the childish statement about "*outraging nature's primary demand* on the human species—to propagate its kind." The distinction made in Dr. Connell's argument, previously cited, between the non-use and abuse (outraging) of a faculty is so crystal clear. And Mrs. Sanger's own words settle what might be left of the "argument." That is, the demand to propagate rests with "the human species," not with the individual. Furthermore, as shown elsewhere, celibacy is helpful to the human family as nature has constituted it. The same is true of partial continence or self-control within marriage.

Again Mrs. Sanger states: "Consistency where art thou? 'Self-control is based on the natural law,' says the prelate. Where? When? How?"⁴

It so happens that the "prelate" was speaking of a human being, a rational and not an irrational animal. The natural guiding faculty of rational man is reason, not instinct, as is the case with brute creation. If restraint regarding the sex instinct is unnatural to rational man, then what is to be said about his other instincts and appetites? What about sexual restraint outside of marriage? And what about restraint before marriage?

And just as the nurse-philosopher-theologian had informed priest and prelate of their fallacious line of reasoning, so too did she presume to set the Pope aright. Indeed, such things had become just a little detail, a routine matter in her every-

4. *My Fight for Birth Control*, p. 223

day life. "It had become part of my routine," she writes in starting to comment on the Encyclical on *Christian Marriage*, "to answer every challenge to our cause just as I tried to answer every question at a meeting." Then she goes on to expound as follows:

Here again was the hoary "nature" argument which should have been in its grave long since. The contention that it was sin *to interrupt nature in her processes* was simple nonsense. The Pope frustrated her by shaving or having his hair cut. Whenever we caught a fish or shot a wolf or slaughtered a lamb, whenever we pulled a weed or pruned a fruit tree, we too frustrated nature. Disease germs were perfectly natural little fellows which had to be frustrated before we could get well. As for the alleged "safe period" which Rhythm now sets forth, what could be more unnatural than to restrict intercourse to the very time when nature had least intended it?"⁵

So there we have it in a nutshell. "Simple nonsense." Why was not the matter left to a nurse in the first place? After all, compared with her, what could the Pope and the world array of scholars at his command know about the natural law or a question of morals!

But, nevertheless patiently to turn to the statement, it should be noted first of all, that the italicized words therein, "to interrupt nature in her processes" are not found in the *Marriage Encyclical*. The correct words of the encyclical were given earlier in this chapter. Then, so far as terming the "nature" argument a "hoary" argument is concerned, Mrs. Sanger is quite right. It is hoary, quite as hoary as nature itself. And it will continue on as

5. *An Autobiography*, p. 412

long as nature will continue on—long after the birth controllers and their arguments will all long “have been in their graves.” But, as far as “frustrating nature” by shaving or by cutting hair is concerned, it might have been well for Mrs. Sanger to have looked far back beyond Francis Place for the answer to that—back at least to Thomas Aquinas, who lived some centuries earlier. In the hoary tome, *Contra Gentiles*, one of many deeply learned volumes penned by him, she would have found the answer to this relatively simple difficulty plainly and convincingly stated. Finally as to shooting wolves and hooking fish, pruning trees, and exterminating germs, anyone interested in knowing it, could find out from a little six-year old who knows his penny Catechism, that the animal and vegetable kingdoms were created for man; that man has dominion over them. For a human being to pervert a human faculty is something radically different from even the utter destruction of anything in the animal or vegetable kingdom meant for man’s use.

Elsewhere Mrs. Sanger also states that the use of anesthetics is unnatural if artificial birth control is unnatural. We say she *states* it. What she does not do is, show that an anesthetic frustrates the purpose of any human faculty. Birth control does. But, perhaps, the reader is by this time at least beginning to feel as we have long felt, that her “argument” really amounts to the trick of repetition so commonly used today. Say a thing frequently enough, and argument or no argument, some gullibles will likely believe it.

Much the same childish line of objection against the nature argument was brought up in England.

Father Martindale, in his booklet already referred to, answered briefly as follows:

Nor will I allow that people justifiably can say that the "laws of nature" are not being defied when fields are tilled; so why should contraception be branded as defying them? You are not, by tillage, provoking the activity of the field, and then preventing its produce; nor, even, when I amputate a limb, am I defying laws of nature, because I regretfully take the only means of getting rid of the poison that ought not to be there, and that would make it impossible for the limb to be a limb at all. I do not cut off a limb for the joke of the thing, nor because I hold it to be a nuisance to wear boots, or to pay for them; nor because I hold that boots might interfere with the motor industry.

Dr. Adolphus Knopf Speaks

One of the most muddled statements to appear in this country on the issue of the "nature" argument in conjunction with the question of control of births is that of Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf which appeared some years ago in a letter in the *New York Times*. He wrote, among other things:

Regarding the "violation of the law of nature" were we not to interfere with the unreasoning power of nature and allow her to have her way, it would mean to disregard all the facts of science we have discovered, and revert to the life of our progenitors in the animal kingdom. We could not use lightning rods, dam floods, make vaccines and sera to prevent disease, cut out appendices that they may not kill us by bursting in the abdominal cavity, use Caesarian section in a deformed pelvis.

Again he wrote, in an article appearing in the *Medical Journal and Record*:

To allow nature to have its unlimited and

unrestricted sway in procreation and at the same time to make use of our scientific discoveries of how to save and prolong human life would soon fill the earth with human beings to overflowing, with famine and war as the inevitable ultimate result:

In replying to Dr. Knopf, Dr. Edward C. Potvin wrote as follows:

I pass over in these statements both the assumption that man had progenitors in the animal kingdom, which is one of those so-called facts of science which has been constantly reiterated and is singularly lacking in proof, and the assertion that there is danger in the absence of contraception of overpopulation which is not only unverified but is contrary to the best scientific opinion today. My interest is in the argument of Dr. Knopf which proceeds "a pari," from similitude, with regard to which form of argument it is a commonplace in argumentation that when the similitude fails, the argument is valueless. Now the procreation of a human child is neither similar nor comparable to a lightning stroke, nor the action of floods, nor the advent of disease and infected appendices. Those things do not happen as the result of the deliberate and free use of human activity. The procreative act is something within man's full control, and children do not happen like Topsy but as the result of acts deliberately assumed by man and woman, over which they have control and for which they have responsibility, and the term and consequence of which is set by nature. Hence it is confusing the issue as well as false to insinuate that "nature has unlimited and unrestricted sway in procreation," and to compare procreation to the action of lightning or floods or disease. Nature has no more sway in procreation than that given to it by man's deliberate acts. Dr. Knopf's contention, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would be obviously

disastrous and immoral. When a city is in conflagration we blow up houses to stop the onrush of flames; on Dr. Knopf's principle, when an epidemic is in progress we could kill everyone that showed the first signs of infection. On the same principle we could with equal right control incurable pain and disease with therapeutic assassination and rid the world of cripples and criminals by wholesale murder. Hence the real question at issue is not whether man can control the birth rate, but what is a legitimate and moral means of achieving that result.⁶

Fairchild Again

Pratt Fairchild has a very simple way of dealing with the "nature" argument. "We human individuals cannot break the laws of nature," he says. "We can, however, choose which of her laws we see fit to obey."⁷ Yes, he *may*. Man has free will. But the question here is whether what he does is moral or not.

One is led to suspect that all the argumentation—if one can call it argumentation—of birth controllers against the "nature" argument is simply that they do not want what the contrary view implies or demands, namely, a rational self-restraint or self-control. In fact, some go so far as to say, in arguing against a "natural" birth control, that it is utterly impossible. Still others say the self-restraint of abstinence is "unhealthy." Such sweeping and supposedly knowing statements must give rise to a considerable chuckle on the part of the great numbers of healthy, disciplined people who consistently and very happily live a life absolutely at variance with those contentions. True enough, control is

6. A Doctor Speaks on Birth Control, International Catholic Truth Society

7. American Conference on Birth Control and National Recovery, 1935

difficult—quite as difficult perhaps as uncontrol is easy. But, impossible? No. In fact it is hardly any more difficult than many other things expected of rational civilized man.

Regarding the question of health and a reasonable sexual restraint, the words of Rev. C. C. Martindale may well be quoted. In his booklet already cited, he asks and answers the following two questions: "Why does one set of psychologists imagine that bad effects—'nasty complexes'—are particularly bound to result from sexual abstinence? And why *do* bad results sometimes issue from it?" Here are his answers:

Because self-repression is not distinguished from self-control. If I inhibit an instinct, without seeing good reason for doing so, and gladly and freely, choosing to act according to my reason, this is repression; and may produce bad results. The instinct may ferment and fester, so to say. (All these words are metaphorically and therefore inexactly used). Shellshock neuroses were far less produced by doing what you did not like, even over a long space of time, than by doing what you did not really believe in. If a man suppresses himself merely against his will and in consequence of his wife's fad, for example, he may suffer; if he does so because he loves her and wants to serve her health and happiness, he will be uncomfortable, but he will not go sick. To confuse repression with control is a major psychological vulgarity.

It should be well to note, that while approving of self-control one need not by any manner or means approve of the economic conditions that demand utterly uncalled for and unnecessary measures of control on the part of the married. One can readily agree with Father Martindale when he

states: "Certainly, there is a limit in all things. Social conditions ought not to ask, as ours do, martyrdom from half the population." And so, too, can one readily agree with his comments which follow:

It is no part of my duty in this paper to criticize either our social conditions, abominable as they are, nor even to point out that nearly the whole contraceptive problem is due to them, and therefore, due to that graft and grab which is at the back of nearly all that socially is wrong; nor even, to point out that contraception is at best but a palliative of social wrongs—a mopping up of water when the tap is left running. I have not even to spend time about the nonsense that is talked about overpopulation (I am not saying that no sense is ever talked . . .) especially in continents like Australia. Nor yet, about standards of life, where an insane snobbishness operates even more evilly than mere desire for comfortable-ness. One thing is quite certain. It is demoralizing, to pursue a course simply because it is the easier one. Since I am not talking about economics, but sticking to my psychological point, I say that the contraceptive propaganda has done an infinity of harm even in comparison with the good it aimed at doing—it has taught infinitely more unmarried girls and lads to "have their fun" with relative impunity than it has eased the lot of wives in difficult situations; and it is pursuing its due evolution towards the habit of abortion. For if you are avoiding discomfort, you tend (as Mrs. Mitchison very well says) to avoid the very real annoyances of contraception. The moment abortion becomes pretty safe, risks will be taken, and if things "go wrong," early abortion will be used.

Anyone who is acquainted with the birth control movement and some of the shady characters that

have been associated with it will also readily agree with the following statement of the learned English clergyman:

I think too that I have reason for saying that there is at present a calculated attack upon self-control of every sort, especially the Christian ideal; and this, not because it is thought to be bad, but because it is Christian. I think it is part of the indisputable desire of many to destroy what exists, whether or not anything new is to be built upon the ruins.

It should be well to recall also in this connection, as we have done before, that not a few people are financially interested in the doctrine of uncontrol that is birth control—publicists and professionals, manufacturers and merchants of various kinds. They do not wish birth control done away with.

One naturally wonders whether those who speak of the inadvisability, or even impossibility, of sexual restraint really are aware of the full implications of what they are saying. Is it not assuming that people, in and outside of marriage, must live viciously? Or, if they should have the married alone in mind, are they unaware that in families generally self-denial and restraint is necessary, at least from time to time and for one or more such reasons as sickness, child-bearing, and absence of one of the parties from home? Or, are they entirely unaware that a measure of voluntary continence on the part of both spouses contributes very much to a satisfactory married life, while a surfeit of sex does quite the contrary? It was none other than Bertrand Russell, certainly not an advocate of a high plane of moral control, who stated that by abstinence "the sex appetite, like that for food and drink is enormously

enhanced." That statement is quite in contrast with the following effusion of a professional birth controller: "Marital abstinence is an ascetic ideal which is unsound both physiologically and psychologically, and which tends to destroy the finest qualities of the marital union."

It should be well to add here that celibacy also contributes to the good of family life. Practiced because of a higher ideal or from a religious motive, as is done, for example, by religious with the special vow of chastity, a life of virginity unquestionably contributes much to family life. As the author wrote elsewhere: "Consisting in the voluntary denial of a powerful instinct which is much abused today, it stands in striking contrast, and a very wholesome contrast, to the sexual license that is so characteristic of the 'new' ethic. Celibacy contributes to the conservation of the family just as immoral practices contribute to its demoralization and destruction."⁸

Indeed, both marital continence and virginal celibacy stand in the front ranks of the highest civilizing forces of man. They place reason and will in control over man. Birth control, on the other hand, allows the individual to be guided by purely animal instincts, without relationship to self-control or his higher faculties. It is not only "unnatural." It is dehumanizing and degrading. It is animalistic, and uncivilizing.

8. *A Holy War*, p. 29. N.C.W.C. publication

Chapter X

THE NEXT 25 YEARS

In 1939 the birth controllers celebrated the silver jubilee of their organized movement for nation-wide uncontrol. A subject indeed for a celebration! Twenty-five years of organized tearing down of the moral fiber of a great nation! And what a difference the 1914 and 1939 pictures present. In 1914 we see a few misguided, though apparently well-meaning nurses, working for a "cause" in the slums of the Brownville District; in 1939 we see a large gathering of the high-priests and high priestesses of uncontrol in one of New York's swankiest hotels. Birth control had indeed gone from Greenwich Village to Park Avenue! It had gone capitalist too. It had gone big business. Where now were the lowly IWW'S and Socialists? For one thing, their ranks had undoubtedly been decimated through birth control. And meanwhile a budget of over a half million dollars was in preparation for still further decimation. The results we have already shown in a measure in this volume.

A most important question that now looms is: "What will the quarter century, 1939-1965 bring? Will it be another quarter century of uncontrol, of shirking and license, of decay and corruption for the American people and the nation? Or, will the tide turn in the opposite direction? Will there be a return to sanity and morality, to self-control and self-restraint, to discipline and the hardy virtues? How much depends on the answer, it is almost impossible to comprehend.

Fortunately, it can be said that there are at least some evidences of a change. There are a number of straws in the wind that give at least some basis for hopefulness. But at the same time, there are still many trends that suggest continued disintegration and decay.

One of the best evidences of a change for the better—temporary at least—is an upturn in the birth rate. What this upturn in the birth rate means in terms of number of children born can be seen from the following: In 1941, an estimated 2,360,339 babies were born in the United States; in 1942, an estimated 2,500,000. That is a gain of 140,000 for the year. There has been some increase each year since 1939.

Needless to add, birth control did not account for this upturn. But it might be well to note at least some of the reasons for it. Dr. Philip M. Hauser, assistant chief statistician for population of the Bureau of the Census stated the following reasons:

The large crop of babies born after the boys got back from the World War now become old enough to have babies of their own.

The defense boom, like all periods of prosperity, has brought a boom in baby production.

People's emotions are disturbed. Having a family tends to keep a man out of the draft.

More than likely these reasons are a partial explanation. Still another reason, in much the same category, is the boom in war marriages of the past few years. And it might be worth noting, too, that there has been a decided increase in illegitimate children recently.

But more than likely factors of a different kind have also played a part in the change. Certainly the

quiet, consistent work of the Church, not only through her customary parish channels, but also through her press and special organizations—for instance, through the National Catholic Conference on Family Life and the Family Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women—has done much to account for the change. Apparently even some well-meaning Catholics had for a time been misled by the propaganda with which the country had been so profusely deluged. But today there can be little reason for any of them to be misinformed regarding the moral turpitude of birth control.

Apparently, too, some outside the Church—people who had never given particular attention to her doctrines—have come, particularly since the outbreak of the present dreadful world struggle, to see the reasonableness of her position. Fundamental in the present world upheaval is selfishness. And, as is so obvious, birth control is an essentially selfish thing. It is a deliberate surrender to ease, comfort, and pleasure. It is a shunning of self-sacrifice. Even non-Catholics are in a mood to see the fine sense expressed in their Joint Pastoral by the hierarchy of England and Wales when they stated: "There must be a renewal of the Christian spirit of brotherhood which the last few generations of scientific prosperity and 'get-rich-quick' have gone far to kill."

The Catholic school system has undoubtedly also played a part in the change. Evidence of this comes from various sources. Just to mention one: the writer has over the past decade arranged and participated in a considerable number of meetings for

college and high school students in conjunction with programs of the National Catholic Conference on Family Life. Invariably there was manifested at these meetings the highest respect for the sacredness of the marriage state and the ethics of family life and a burning zeal to restore the family to its honored position to which Christianity had lifted it.

Here it must be added too that there have also been some signs of a change of heart regarding birth control on the part of at least some in the secular education world. A volume, for instance, coming from the American Association of School Administrators, a Department of the National Education Association, while not condemning birth control outright, does specifically point a warning finger at the danger of population decline.¹ Moreover it makes many recommendations that could not, if observed, fail to contribute measurably to a restoration of the family. Incidentally, it was the National Education Association that called attention to the drop of 2,000,000 in the grade schools of the country within the incredibly short space of a decade. Evidence of the thinking of its membership on the subject is seen, for instance, in the remark of one teacher to the writer: "The one topic of private conversation at our meetings is 'what about the future of my job, considering the tremendous drop in school pupils?'" The remark would suggest that the practical question of a job is playing a part in the change of heart. However, one would wish at least not to attribute the entire change to that.

Other Side Of Picture

Still other factors have undoubtedly contributed

1. *Education for Family Living*, 1941

to the change in question. But it is also well to recall that there are still many counts on the other side too. Indeed it would be quite too early to paint anything that suggests a genuinely hopeful picture. Even aside from all other considerations, there is at present the war with its far-reaching implications and with its untold possibilities for harm to family life. Several months ago the writer was asked in an interview by a member of the Press Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference what he felt were the prospects of the country's future population. After stating what he considered could most fittingly be said on the more hopeful side, he recorded the following points for the negative side:

A protracted war usually means a rather decided dip in the birth rate of a warring nation.

Even before the outbreak of the present war some people—imitating another Europeanism, notably of France and Germany—spoke of a "birth strike" on the ground that "this is not a fit world into which to bring a child."

The birth controllers are now centering their efforts in large measure upon rural people who have been the main contributors to our population in the past. Furthermore, the mechanization of agriculture seems almost universally followed by a drop in the birth rate in the mechanized territory.

The present rush of women into industry will likely hurt the birth rate.

It's easy to start a torrent but not easy to stop it. So long as we remain human beings it will always remain easier to teach "thou shalt" than "thou shalt not" insofar as the moral law is concerned.

In this interview too, the writer stated the fol-

lowing which it might be well to recall here even at the risk of some repetition.

The democracies of the world have notably lower birth rates than other countries. They seem rather extensively to harbor the notion that freedom means the right to violate the natural law and to fling back the divine law into God's face. Of course, there is always a day of reckoning when natural and divine laws are flouted. God's will cannot be mocked.

He concluded with the following reminder: -

Birth control is not a thing that stands alone. It is a part of a whole faulty philosophy of life. Many currents contribute to the sum total stream of this hurtful philosophy—liberalism, materialism, a selfish individualism, a vile, profit-motivated literature, and the like. It's a pretty big mess to clean up. It may not be impossible to prevent a recurrence in this country of France's corruption and downfall, but it will not be easy either. The whole situation recalls strikingly the words which Pope Leo XIII wrote fully six decades ago: "Unless things change, the human family and state have every reason to fear lest they should suffer absolute ruin."

Organized Birth Controllers

Speaking of reasons for such favorable change as has taken place in the matter of birth control, even the organized birth controllers themselves might be mentioned. There is at any rate some evidence that some of their number have arrived at a dim appreciation of the frightful damage their doctrines and practices have visited upon the country, and that they have begun to move, not without a little awkwardness to be sure, in the opposite direction. Particularly does this change date from the annual meeting of the Birth Control Federation

of February, 1942. At the beginning of this meeting the members were faced particularly with two facts which to them were highly distasteful and unpleasant: 1) the appreciable growth of the birth rate for several years past in the very face of all their birth control clamor and racket; 2) the rising criticism against birth control by many who, since the outbreak of the war, were becoming more and more conscious of the matter of numbers in the conflict, and more and more aware of the growing threat to our future population. Even at this meeting itself, the suggestion was repeatedly put forth that such "have" nations as our own might well stop their decline in the birth rate, and that the "have not" nations should send theirs tobogganing a while. It sounded almost pathetic to hear a foreigner, Mrs. Freemantle of London, say at the meeting that more little democrats were needed to deal with what she called "the nasty Nazis." And it really must have startled American childless and near-childless uncontrollers, when she stated: "There is a feeling (in Britain) that *young people must be encouraged to have all the babies they want.*" What a weirdly strange note at an American professional anti-baby love feast. Certainly it suggested forcefully that, in viewing prostrate France, the fact of England's own deliberately effected decline and its threatening consequences, had finally penetrated her consciousness.

It might be added here that Major Randolph Churchill, son of the British Prime Minister, had not yet at this time voiced his deep concern over the future of Britain because of her dwindling birth rate. It was only towards the end of 1942 that he

gave utterance to the following: "I do not think it is generally realized that if the present tendency in the birth rate continues there would be only four million people in the British Isles in little more than a hundred years. And Britain cannot remain a great power on the basis of that population."

It might also well be added here that, with what Mrs. Freemantle said substantially—that is, "that the State must increasingly take over the babies, once they are there,"—every genuine American will heartily disagree. As our Supreme Court has put the American theory of this matter: "The child is not the mere creature of the State." The child belongs to the parents. They, and not the State, have first accountability for it. Americans want none of the ism that would permit the State to swallow up the family.

The suggestion that the "have not" peoples cut their birth rate must have brought back to Mrs. Sanger and those who have read her books recollections of many set-backs and rude awakenings when she had tried to carry that same notion to the peoples of the Eastern world several years before.

Not only in the program of the 1942 meeting itself of the Birth Control Federation of America were there evidences of changed attitudes, but also in activities that followed close upon the meeting—if they did not actually flow directly from it. Examples of this are the following: The title of the magazine "Journal of Conception" was changed to "Human Fertility," and the name, Birth Control Federation of America, was changed to Planned Parenthood Federation of America. The meaning suggested by these changes also appeared increas-

ingly in birth control literature. After all there may be a real difference between harping on unwanted children and speaking of spacing children. To be sure, even in the latter case the question of means or methods used or recommended must not be lost sight of.

The little one-page Religious Bulletin of Notre Dame University in its issue of February 3, 1942, commented with its usual force and pungency on the aforementioned meeting, and the apparent change of heart, or least shift in attitude of some in attendance. We note a few of its paragraphs:

They (the birth controllers) have seen the devastating effects of a low birth-rate in France; there is now a general clamor in anti-axis countries for greater manpower; hence the birth-controllers have reversed their field like the American Communists after the falling out between Adolph and Joe, and now are slanting their propaganda for larger families. They see now that birth control and selfishness have succeeded—too well . . .

It took her (Mrs. Sanger) and her group 25 years to realize, hazily at least, that marriage and sex are creations too delicate, yet too powerful for regulation by mere humans, who try to adjust them solely to human convenience, motivated by selfishness and pleasure.

Mrs. Sanger's group has changed positions especially because they find birth control too willingly adopted not by the relatively poor, but by those best able financially to have children and many children. It was extremely easy for her group to persuade financially able parents to be selfish, to refuse labor, care and responsibility of having and rearing children.

Can she now persuade her followers to about-face and curb selfishness? She's had very easy going so far, making selfishness scientific,

modern and popular, but she'll find the going tough from now on in. She is starting a big campaign with big names, scientists, educators, writers. She wants to make motherhood and large families once again respectable and patriotic. She is going to be battling against that most powerful urge—selfishness. We're interested to see how she'll fare against it now, having used it for her campaign so long.

Mrs. Sanger must be embarrassed but the old Catholic Church isn't. Rome goes serenely on, guided by God who created marriage and sex. She is still teaching the same true morality. True morality does not shift for expediency, even for war. It doesn't have to. It can't in fact.

What is said in the foregoing statement applies to some birth controllers. But we doubt whether it really applies to Mrs. Sanger. One of a number of reasons for this is a statement she has made since the meeting referred to, in which she insisted this was not a time in which to beget children. Another is the fact that we do not think Mrs. Sanger really has any specific conviction in the matter of birth control. It is our sincere belief that for some years past she has simply been an opportunist, that her views and utterances are prompted entirely by expediency, and notably by her lust for publicity or notoriety.

Non-Organized Followers

Not a few individual believers in birth control, outside the organized ranks, have recently shown that they have become very skeptical about its accepted value. They have come to see plainly the results of the twenty-five years of uncontrol, and have become fearful. It is true, many of these

still wish to hold to the principle of birth control. But they want it applied only in exceptional instances. Even such a limited change is of course an improvement on the deliberate and wholehearted campaigning for birth control that has been characteristic of many in the past. Yet, in final analysis it is but the usual "have your cake and eat it" attitude. How little even such people know human nature! And other considerations aside, what a strange lack of grasp they have of what is intrinsically wrong, essentially immoral.

A smaller number have gone still further; indeed, some have gone all the way. As genuine logic could only prompt them to do, they have rejected birth control in toto. One outstanding example of this is the late Heywood Broun, for years a very prominent American newspaper man. He wrote a number of times in a way that was favorable to the birth control movement. In fact, Mrs. Sanger refers to his writings several times in her *Autobiography*. Yet subsequently he rejected the principle of birth control and all its related brood of errors. He became a convert to Catholicism. He accepted every jot and tittle of the moral teaching of the Catholic Church.

Another example of an American newspaper man who totally changed his mind on the subject of birth control—in this case entirely on the basis of a naturalistic line of reasoning—is Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlantic Constitution*. Though not a Catholic, Mr. McGill participated in the Convention of the Catholic Committee of the South held at Richmond, Virginia, on April 27, 1942, and there told in detail the story of his change of view in the

matter. It well merits repetition here. Significantly, Mr. McGill based his address on the following words, graven on a statue of Benjamin H. Hill in the City of Atlanta: "Who saves his country, saves all things, and all things saved will bless him. Who lets his country die, lets all things die, and all things dying curse him." He remarked in opening his address that it was in the spirit of these words that he spoke. Then, referring in his introductory remarks to the present war, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* went on to state the words which we already quoted in the first chapter of this volume.

It is obvious that under cover of this war of machines there is going on a war of superiority in population between the East and the West, with the East easily the victor. And he who does not think this steady population growth will have a tremendous and over-powering hand in the world that is to follow this war is so very wrong there is no need even to argue that he is wrong.

Also referring to the war, McGill said it "has sent all of us walking along a figurative road to Damascus and like so many Pauls the scales are dropping from our eyes." Then turning to the South he called attention to what might be called the dark side of her picture, her many and very real economic and social problems. "I see all these things," he said; but added immediately, "They are not all the story."

The South still is alive. The landless, sick, and shiftless ones, produced by a system, are not the whole story.

I see the South as vitally alive. I see its school busses crowded. I see its statistics and know that it spends less on education in com-

parison with other states but more in proportion to what it has to spend.

I see the birth rate of the Southern states and how that only in the South is the rate climbing. I see one-fourth of the people producing about half the children of the nation.

I see the shiftless, landless ones and talk with them, and I know that their lives are not all narrow hates and ignorances. There is in most of them a tremendous ambition for their children, a yearning they themselves do not understand for something better than what they have.

Then Mr. McGill went on to tell how he changed his mind about the "easy" solution of birth control.

There was a time when I believed the way out was through fewer children. It seemed simple. There was a poverty-stricken family. The parents could not care for the ones they had. To bring others into the world was merely to add another unwanted baby, was merely to add another burden . . .

The answer seemed to be to stop people from having children, or at least to reduce the rate. I read much and studied some and there were persuasive arguments.

It was argued that a balanced population, one in which the birth rate about matched that of the death rate, or even stayed a bit below it, was not a bad thing. It was argued that while it would produce more old people and would reduce the number of young people in the total population, the effect would not be bad. It would be a civilized static sort of nation.

The scholarly editor was not easily convinced. He would take a look at actual results before finally making up his mind on the question. He went to Europe, to some of the countries in which birth

control had been in the saddle and riding hard for some time. He tells of the results and his reactions.

I saw, in the Scandanavian countries and some four months there, some startling things. I talked with economists and with the men in charge of the governments, and I found them tremendously concerned.

They were concerned about the birth rate. In Denmark and especially in Sweden did I find this to be true. They had become more or less static nations. They had become probably more civilized than any other nations. They had freedom of speech and of religion. They had a free press. They had a cultural life that was of high order. They had developed the social services to a high and efficient degree.

But something had happened to them. They were dying out. This was not merely a physical dying out. It was a sort of spiritual dying out. They had got fewer children. They were not troubled by unemployment. They had no slums. They had good housing.

But something was wrong. The old vigor of the Scandanavian race was not in evidence. They were static.

After citing a few birth statistics of other European countries, the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* again turned to the present war situation and what it portends for the family.

Now the War has come.

We see that the vigorous nations, the nations which produce life are the nations where life is strongest. We, and to a greater extent, England, reflected what it meant to have become static in thought and in strength and in birth rates. Somehow the three are inevitably bound.

We see that if we do become static and retreat within our comfortable walls in which there is food for all and culture for all and no growth and no life and not much new thought,

if any, the barbarians will come over our comfortable walls.

They will come over our comfortable walls and destroy our comfort and take our culture. They will put us to making bricks without straw, they will make us a subject, servile people.

The lesson is plain.

I do not mean to say that it is simple or that the mere production of children is the answer. But I do mean to say that somehow, perhaps in one of the mysteries of God, there is unescapably bound up the fact that when a nation's birth rate declines the nation declines.

At least, so it seems to me.

So, having seen and studied some more, *I changed my mind.* (Italics mine)

It came to me that we had been approaching the problem along the line of least resistance. By reducing the number of children in poor families we did not at all abolish or alleviate the poverty.

By arguing for fewer children, we did not argue against the system which produced the illiterate parents, the parents on relief, the diseased parents.

You can make out a nice case for it, and you can buttress it with some excellent statistics and arguments, but it just won't stand up for the simple reason it is a substitute for the real job to be done.

It is this "real job" that McGill points to as he refers to the after-war in the closing sentences of his address:

The war has dislocated things.

But we know that when the war is done the job this great rich and powerful country must do is to make a plan which will allow parents to be able to have children and to be able

to give them the proper sort of life, a plain, and simple but honest life if not a rich one.

We were going along the other path when the war came . . .

The war came and showed us our weakness. The strong lusty countries came over the comfortable walls of France and the smaller countries.

Our own walls and those of England were shaken and still are shaken! We will win!

And when we have won we must go back to the idea that children are riches; that nature and the imperious laws of nature cannot be cheated without damage to the spiritual and physical fabric of the nation.

There are many, many factors but we have seen in lesson after lesson that when the birth rate declines the whole life and vitality of a nation declines.

The job is plain.

We must attack the real problem and not seek to solve it by a subterfuge.²

The Church And The "Real Job"

It is hardly necessary to speak here of the constant insistence of the Church in this country on the need and duty for attacking "the real problem" of which the *Atlanta Constitution* editor speaks. In season and out of season, in conferences and forums, in publication and periodical, in official documents and in manifold other pronouncements, the Church has set forth the Catholic view regarding a new social order generally, and regarding specific remedies demanded for the good of the family. Such notions as the family living wage, as the State's duty to help assure conditions essential to genuine family life, constantly reiterated by her,

2. *The Catholic Family Monthly*, October, 1942

have become commonplace in this country. Few working people of the United States, for instance, can remain totally ignorant of what have aptly been called the "bread and butter morals" of the eminent Catholic social leader, the Right Rev. John A. Ryan. Monsignor Ryan has been Director, since its inception, of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. That agency, together with its auxiliary organization, the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, we dare say will go down in history as the most balanced, and at the same time the most progressive, social agency in the country during the highly disturbed and transitional years that have just elapsed. As is well known, the principles that unfailingly guided the Department and its auxiliary body, were those enunciated in the great labor encyclicals—that of Pope Leo XIII, *On the Condition of the Working Classes*, and that of Pope Pius XI, on the *Reconstruction of the Social Order*. In these documents are contained the certain remedy for the dreadful economic conditions which, even in this land of plenty, have crushed and crucified millions of families.

English Ecclesiastical Leaders

It is encouraging also to note in other countries, among them a number of the democracies to which we earlier referred in a less favorable light, a serious turning to the problem of the family and the birth rate, and to the remedies for the economic and other evils that created the problem. England is a good example. With increasing frequency, even in the disturbed times of war, are utterances heard in this regard by her distinguished leaders. The

Joint Pastoral Letter, issued by the Hierarchy of England and Wales and read in all Catholic Churches on Sunday, June 21, 1942, is an example in point. It is well deserving of careful reading in its entirety. But a few points pertaining more specifically to our general topic here are cited for the convenience of the reader.³

Following a clear and simple statement on the respective relationships of family and state, the Bishops make the following broad statement of principle: "Any measure which helps to preserve human life and family life, it is our duty as Christians to support; and any practices which help to destroy this life it is our duty as Christians to oppose." Then they proceed to note the following details:

Family life is attacked by divorce which breaks up the sacredness of the marriage tie. Family life, and the life of society, are sapped by the practice of contraception which frustrates the primary object of wedded life and sets up the pleasure arising from the sex act as the aim and object of the act itself. Children are neither the private luxury of their parents nor are they the chattels of the State. They are human persons. Unless the present widespread practice of birth prevention is stopped, not only will the spiritual standard of the nation be degraded, but the population of this country will die out. If parenthood is an economic burden, the fault lies with the social system that allows parenthood to be a burden, and it is the duty of the State to remove the causes of the burden. For not only is parenthood vital, but who except a fool would talk of planning the future of a nation while allowing its people to become extinct.

3. The full text can be secured from *The Tablet*, London.

Family life is attacked when housing conditions are bad. Family life is attacked when the total wages of the family are insufficient to support the family in comfort and to leave a margin for saving. Family life is attacked when the parents cannot support as large a family as they would like to have. Family life is attacked when the parents are unable to afford for any of their children an education suitable to the child's gifts.

Broadening the scope of their statement somewhat beyond the family, the Bishops then laid down the following as the minimum conditions for a Christian way of life:

1) A living wage. Wages should be sufficient not only for a moderately comfortable life, but sufficient for saving as well. Less than this is unjust.

2) The chief factors that should determine the amount of a man's wages are: a) an agreed standard of work, b) the capacity of industry to pay, c) an agreed minimum average family, e.g., father, mother and three or four children.

3) The payment of this wage should be the first charge on every industry.

4) When an employer cannot pay this minimum living wage the difference should be made up. This could be done either by industry pooling a percentage of all wages paid and sharing the proceeds according to needs; or in default of this, by the State.

5) Employers and employed should be regarded as partners, not as rivals; they should unite to secure the best conditions for work, the fairest division of output and the maximum of harmony. Cut-throat competition which leads to low prices and sweated labour should give place to co-ordination of each trade or industry within itself, and to co-operation

with other trades and industries in organization for the common good.

A wife ought not to be obliged to go out to work in order to make up the wages of a family to a minimum living wage.

6) The minimum living accommodation for a family should be such as no one has to sleep in the living-room; that there be satisfactory sanitation; that there be a bathroom for each family. Slums should be abolished, there is no excuse for slums.

7) There should be a ban on the manufacture and sale of birth-prevention appliances.

8) There should be a ban on the manufacture and sale of obscene books, and there should be a board set up by the publishing associations to regulate this.

9) Religious education, to meet the wishes of the parents, should be available to all school-children, and on such conditions that the general education of the child should not suffer in any way from its parents' insistence on religious education.

10) The enormous inequality in the distribution of wealth in this country, and the consequent control of the lives of the masses by a comparatively few rich people, is against social justice. We have seen in our own days the growth of large and powerful groups, industrial and financial, sometimes competing, sometimes co-operating, but pursuing always their own interests at the expense of the common welfare. Under the strong pressure of war much of this evil has been checked by the authority of the State. Both profits and prices are now controlled in the national interest. The war, in fact, has clearly shown that there is no practical difficulty in solving the main problems of economics. All that is needed is a sufficiently compelling motive, a common purpose. But is that common purpose only to be found in war?

The national interest in matters of profits and prices does not differ in peace time from what it is in war time. The same means, the same men and materials are available in peace no less than in war. It is the purpose only that is wanting, the common force of minds and will that is lacking.

Catholic publications in England, too are increasingly giving attention to the family question and the birth rate. For instance, the entire issue of the noted Dominican publication, *Blackfriars*, for May, 1942, was devoted to the family. Again, *The Month*, March-April, 1942, carried an editorial on the family under the caption, "One Vital Problem." Among other things it pointed out that the birth rate of England and Wales fell from 35 per 1,000 in 1880 to just 15 per 1,000 in 1939. It also noted that economic circumstances were in part responsible for the decline, and it spoke favorably of family allowances as a step toward a solution. Wisely it warned, however, that family allowances alone would not solve the problem. Pointing to the fact that France has had family allowances of some kind or other since 1854 the editorial added:

To put the matter on national and sociological grounds rather than on those of ethics—the country needs a greater earnestness and sense of responsibility, including a sense of responsibility to the future. These qualities have been so admirably displayed in the defense of Britain and in the achievement of Navy, Armies, and Air Force overseas. They must be brought increasingly into the ordinary national life.

The leaders in the Anglican Church also have been making themselves heard in matters of reform that impinge upon the family. For instance, in

his first speech to the House of Lords as Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Temple stated that "the working class mother with a large family is the real heroine . . . of our civilization." Following which, he made an appeal to the Government to provide funds for family allowances to the extent of \$500,000,000. Worthy of note too is the fact that at the time of his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, the press referred to him as "a philosopher and social reformer" and added that "he is regarded as a friend of labor and one of the most progressive leaders in the Church." Furthermore, it recalled that one of his better known quotations is: "Sex is not only wholesome but holy, but birth control is unholy." All of which makes good sense. To be sure, without the last expressed view the Anglican Churchman would not be properly called a philosopher and social reformer. Birth control and other misuses of sex do not reform. They tear down and destroy. Of that every philosopher worthy the name must be thoroughly aware.

The British Government apparently has given effective attention to the recommendations of these various Churchmen. Just recently a British official, the Minister of Health, E. Brown, cited many measures taken to encourage large families, and some taken to counteract the birth control evil.

It is the British government's policy to "influence the national life and economy in favor of families with children" stated Minister of Health E. Brown in the House of Commons, answering a question by Ivor Thomas, who asked whether it is the intention of the government to encourage an increase in the birth-rate at the present time?

Mr. Brown declared the question one of pro-

found significance, spiritual and social as well as economic.

"It has been the policy of successive governments, in fields much wider than that of my department," he said, "to influence the national life and economy in favor of families with children. The income tax allowances for children, the arrangements for the care of mothers and young children, the provision of free education and of school meals and school medical services, and the preference given to large families in the selection of tenants of municipal houses afford familiar examples.

"This policy has been extended by many war measures, such as increased allowances for children under the unemployment insurance and assistance plans for children of members of the forces, exchequer subventions towards the cost of bread and other staple foods, the extension of the school meals service, and the provision on an increasing scale of cheap or free milk and other protective foods for expectant mothers and young children. Moreover children's clothing has been excluded from the purchase tax. These measures carry with them a very substantial relief from the financial burden of parentage."

This is at least another straw in the wind pointing toward a more promising future for the family.

The editorial from *The Month* already quoted refers to Australia and the Archbishop of Melbourne, Daniel Mannix, in the following brief but telling sentence: "Dr. Mannix told the Australians very bluntly that it is their own crime that their country is being defended today by nine million instead of eighteen million people." Perhaps Australia will take the lesson to heart for the future. Of course, it is much easier to coast down the incline than

it is to climb back; but the warning at least has been given.

Switzerland

Switzerland, as we noted before, is another of the democracies that has had her fling. Fortunately, at this late hour at least, she has seen in some measure the error of her ways. About a year ago, community and Church groups within her borders cooperated in drawing up a program of reform for youth and family life in the little country. The various evils—outstanding among them birth control—were discussed, together with the community conditions, such as evil movies and literature, that contributed toward them. Recommendations for the elimination of the latter were made. It is undoubtedly as a result of these efforts that the new Federal Penal Code of Mid-June, 1942, was eventually developed and passed.

Among other things, this code strikes at birth control. It makes unlawful the advertising or public display of contraceptives in such a way as to violate public decency and the sending of articles or information on this subject unsolicited through the mails or to persons who have no professional interest, such as doctors and druggists have. Furthermore, the birth control section of the law definitely illegalizes abortion except in one instance. The one exception is made when two physicians, one of whom must be the official medical councillor of the Canton, agree that the life or a permanently grave threat to the health of the mother is involved. In this case, and upon issuance of a certificate signed by both physicians, a third physician may act. The so-called social indication—artificial birth control for econom-

ic or social reasons such as poverty—is not recognized by the Federal Penal Code, but the court may consider extenuating circumstances in imposing sentence.

The new Penal Code also prohibits in general the exhibition, possession, sale or purveyance of immoral pictures, publications or films, with especially heavy sanctions when such objects are displayed before minors under the age of 18.⁴

This new Penal Code, though still limited, at least contains steps in the right direction. It is a noteworthy improvement on what went before, and shows a very considerable change of attitude on the part of the Swiss.

American Law

In our own country there is still little evidence of retracing our steps by undoing the harm that has been done in the legal field. True, there are still a number of states that show at least a semblance of conservatism about the matter. We have mentioned the state of Massachusetts and Connecticut in which efforts to get a birth control law have failed to date. But there is no general movement against the present laws.

Clinics are being increasingly started. While some are being closed here and there, others are being increasingly tax-supported. Here as well as elsewhere there is also that great unknown factor, the length of the war and all the many serious ways in which that may unfavorably react upon the family. But perhaps worst of all, insofar as the United States is concerned, is something which has gotten pretty deeply into the American mind, namely the

4. N.C.W.C. News Service, June 15, 1942

utterly absurd notion that to demand certain things of the people, even things upon which the very life or death of the nation may depend, is "undemocratic." It is a confounding of liberty and license. And it is in no small measure the work of the birth control propagandists.

Well may America contemplate, before it is too late, the meaning of the following words of the great German educator, F. X. Foerster :

It is completely forgotten that true progress does not consist in securing animal freedom, but rather through a more perfect control of the lower self, in setting free the spiritual center of personality. There has never been an age in which there has been so much talk of freedom as in the present, and never one in which the most important struggle for freedom, the struggle against the world of mere impulse, has ever been so thrust into the background.

And so too, before it is too late, may America, and for that matter the entire birth control world, seriously take to heart the warnings contained in the concluding pages of the splendid volume of the eminent French philosopher, Jacques LeClercq, *Marriage and the Family*. We call attention to at least a few specific points in closing. Stating that two philosophies, radically opposed to each other, are fighting for the possession of the world, Dr. LeClercq goes on to explain :

The one doctrine is based upon the nature of man; it corresponds to his need of perfection; it permits progress of every kind. The other starts from the individualist illusion. It promises happiness, but in reality it dries up the sources of life, poisons education and even threatens to wreck civilization.

The words are as much as to say that the one philosophy is in harmony with the natural law that the God of nature has laid down, and demands a certain discipline of life; the other is a revolt against the same law, recognizes no discipline of restraint, but demands an untrammelled liberty that spells license. We need not add that Dr. LeClercq lists birth control with the latter "philosophy."

Worthy of deepest consideration are also the following statements of his:

Nowadays, outside the Catholic Church the doctrine that destroys seems to have gained complete hold of the living forces of the human race. Against it stands nothing but traditions that are giving way; purely defensive forces that can slow down the forward movement of a cause, but never arrest it. The Church alone is energetically keeping up the fight.

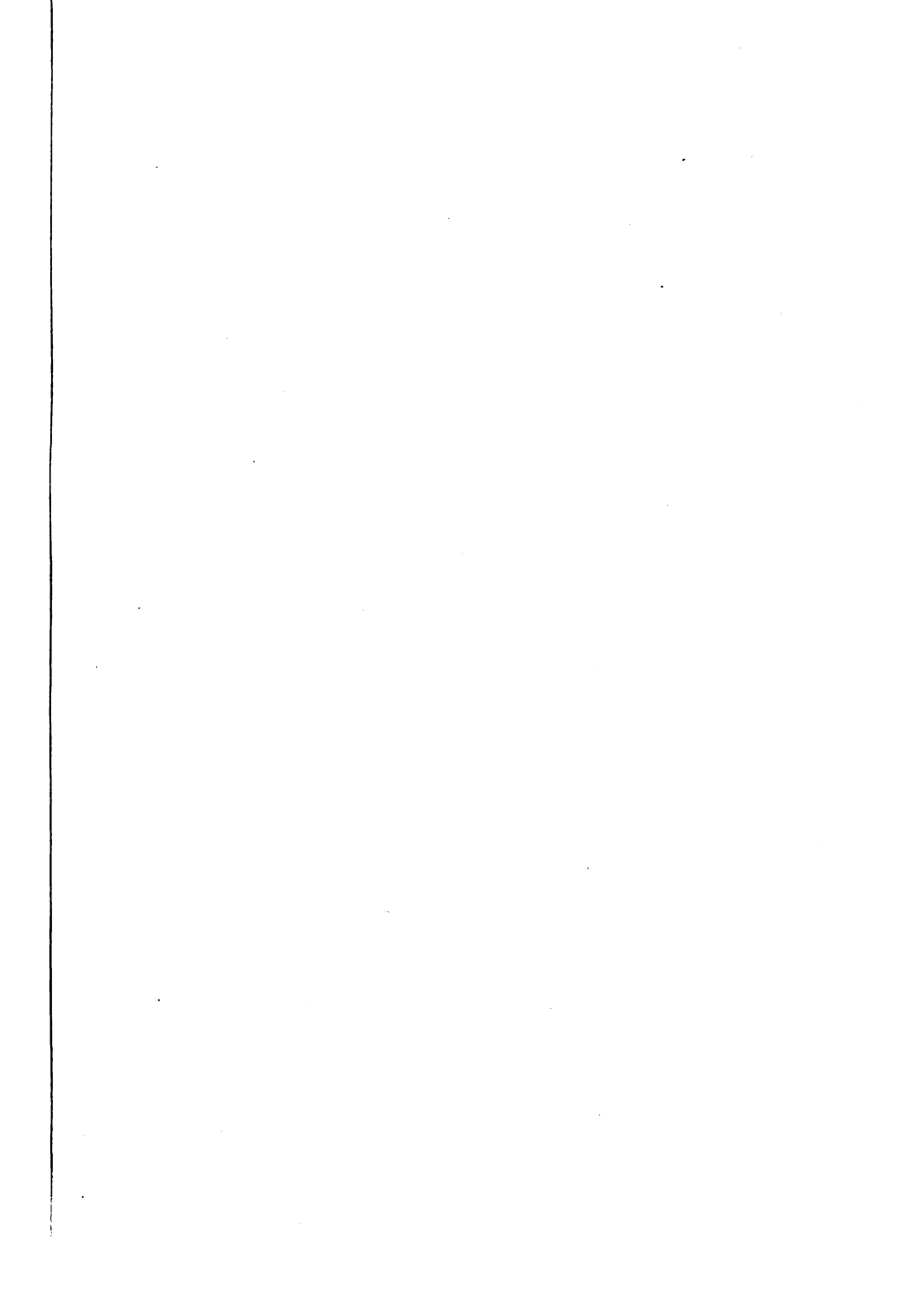
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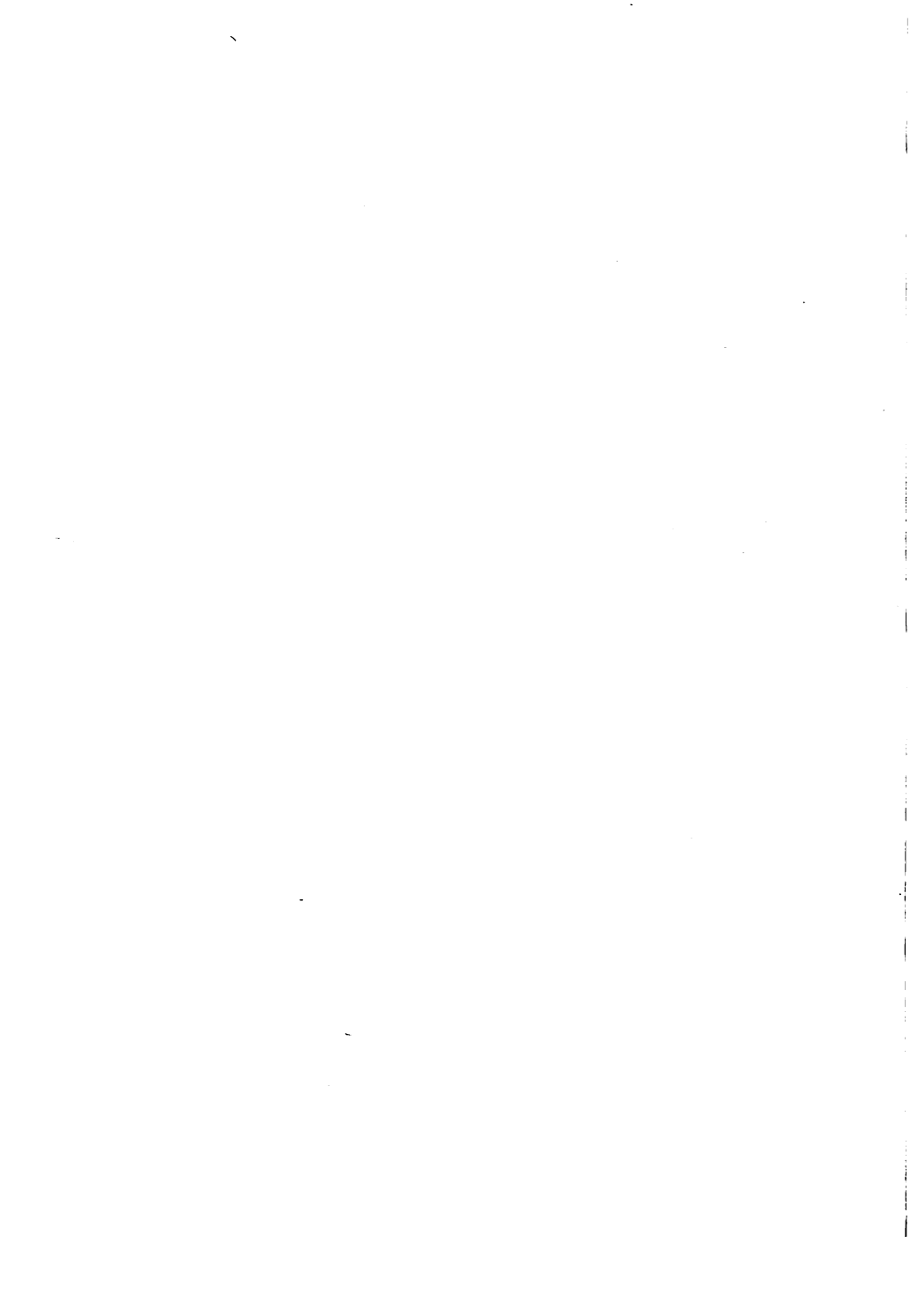
As slowly and as surely as the coming and going of the season or the ebbing or flowing of the tides, he who errs debases himself, and if he perseveres in error, he perishes.

And what does he say will be the end of the present drift? When will the false philosophy of marriage end? He answers in one of his concluding paragraphs:

For individuals the breakdown of the family means the gloomy despair of a life without happiness, of a life which not even pleasure can light up. For nations it means slow death through sterility, and it can even mean this for the human race. But this will not happen. Savagery will return before the end, and savagery supports life. But how much ruin and destruction ere this come to pass! And afterwards what toil to rebuild a civilization.

Little wonder LeClercq ends with the statement:
"No effort will be too great to ward off the danger."
Needless to add, we agree.







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